

PRACTICAL ESSAYS ON EDUCATION.

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ADVERTISEMENT

THESE papers, with the exception of the last, which has not been printed before, have appeared in the *Contemporary Review* at different times in the course of the past two years. Some alterations, and some considerable additions, have been made in the course of the present reprint.

T. M.

CAMBRIDGE,
February 28, 1868.

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PUBLIC SCHOOLS*



FEW months ago an eminent divine, writing to a brother clergyman, said, 'The deterioration of the culture of the "rising generation" is among the puzzles of our day.' We believe that these words represent very fairly the feeling prevalent among the more thoughtful sort of fathers, who, having boys to send to school, do not, as a matter of course, send them to the place where they were themselves brought up, but turn their minds to the question what it will be best to do for their sons

* *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Revenue and Management of certain Colleges and Schools, and*

welfare. There is a strong impression abroad that the young men of the present day are intellectually inferior to their fathers, and that this is very much due to the shortcomings of schools. While we admit that we believe the former part of this proposition to be true, we do not presume to offer any decisive judgment on the matter. But considering the great interest of the subject, we think that there can be no impropriety in raising the question, and stating the reasons for the opinion we entertain, more especially since it will afford an opportunity of drawing attention to some useful sources of information.

It is not very easy, or rather has not been until lately very easy, to get at trustworthy means of information about schools. The theories of scientific men about education do not much help a man to answer the question, 'Where shall I send my son?' He can readily learn, if he has any acquaintances at either University, what schools happen to send up the best scholars at the time ; but that is far from all he requires to know. The 'Report,' however, which stands at the head of this paper furnishes a vast body of statistics and replies to all

sorts of questions on almost every point that can arise in connexion with a school. The nine schools the Commissioners visited may be taken to represent, with tolerable fairness, both the advantages and deficiencies of English public school education as at present conducted. A man who has made himself acquainted with what they have to offer will know pretty well what he may expect at any public school. The 'Report' itself is well worth reading. It occupies one volume out of the four issued by the Commissioners. It is divided into two parts—one containing a masterly review of the general results of the inquiry, and the general recommendations of the Commissioners; the other, a particular account of the origin, endowments, government, and present state of each of the schools to which they were sent, with summaries of their recommendations respectively. If we may take any exception to it, it is that Rugby is rather too much held up as a model. Thus the good Harry Sandford, at Rugby, rests 'on Sunday from all serious intellectual exertion till the evening, and passes the day in hearing a lecture, attending church' (at which exercises, we fear, the reporter

thinks he does not seriously exert his intellect), walking in the country, and strolling about the school close ; while naughty Tommy Merton, at Eton, requires a 'tap,' knows the road to 'the Christopher,' and even finds his way there now and then 'on a Sunday after four.' More than this, Tommy shirks his master, votes reading unfashionable, though he condescends '*not to think the worse* of another boy for reading ;' so the misguided youth can do anything else—if he can row, for example, play cricket, or any other athletic game—and finds the charms of idleness very numerous and very seductive at Eton. But this is a small blemish, and confined to a very small part of one chapter. On the whole, the 'Report' is eminently complete and impartial ; and if its style, as a literary work, be at all a fair specimen of blue-books in general, they must be much better reading than is usually thought. It is so long (consisting, with the appendices, of four folio volumes, containing near two thousand pages, of which more than three-fourths are printed in small type and double columns) that we cannot attempt to give an abstract of it, but we shall frequently refer to it in the following paper.

We have also found the 'Public Schools Kalendar' of service. But we take the freedom of recommending the 'Graduate of the University of Oxford,' by whom it is edited, to acknowledge explicitly his obligations to the 'Report of the Commissioners,' or else to put expressions which he adopts from it, and which are probably better than such as would come from his own mint, between inverted commas. We would point out, too, that if the account of the first nine schools were submitted to a reduction it would well bear, a much larger number of endowed schools might be added.

It will be perceived that we extend the term 'public school' beyond the limits to which some of the persons brought up at six or seven schools wish to confine it. A public school we define to be one which is held under a trust for a public advantage. Every national, every proprietary, every foundation school, is a public school. The older schools would be more properly designated 'charity schools,' as most of them include a charity under some form or other, although it is commonly outgrown and almost hidden by the foreign and much

larger body which surrounds it. Thus, at Eton there are seventy scholars, at Westminster forty, at Winchester seventy, lodged, fed, and taught by the charity of their founders. At St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors, and others, no boys are boarded, but all feel the benefit of the charity in the reduction of fees for their schooling to little or nothing. Others, again, like the well-known royal foundations of Edward VI., are for the benefit of particular districts all over the country. These, if any schools in the kingdom, are entitled to be specially called *public*, since, while they present a cheap—in some cases, unhappily, a gratuitous—education to the sons of burgesses in the towns in which they were erected, they were expressly intended to form a nucleus for good county schools. The truth is, that the only real distinction among the schools is of wealth. Only very rich people can afford, without great self-denial, to send their boys to Eton or Harrow; and the very large admixture of the sons of *nouveaux riches* probably occasions a good many of the evils of which parents may reasonably complain. In academical contests, on the river or the cricket-field, and in the race of life afterwards, the

ground is open to all alike. Nor have the *alumni* of humbler foundations the smallest scruple in beating their wealthier rivals. It is amusing to compare the two first-class men and one wrangler which it cost Westminster (a school where the 'public school feeling,' as it is called, is at least as strong as in any other) *ten* years to produce, with the fourteen first-class men and seven wranglers Shrewsbury was able to furnish in that time. Even poor old Bury, with not half the numbers of Westminster, and no capital of forty picked scholars to start upon, found three first-class men and a wrangler in the course of the same ten years. The assumption of superiority is not altogether unimportant, in view of the effect it may have on the character of the boys. Carried to excess, it tends to make them narrow-minded and exclusive, while, within reasonable limits, a *pietas* towards the old house is calculated to keep them respectful and affectionate. This is seen in its best form at Eton. The regard of Etonians for their school is no matter of mere sentiment or pride. They think and talk of—sometimes a little bore their friends with—Eton, because they truly love and honour her; while their

unequalled manners make their society always acceptable. It is therefore with satisfaction that we find the Commissioners, apparently not without purpose, speak of 'the limited number of public schools referred to us.'

We proceed to treat of the various questions of interest which present themselves.

The first that arises is how far endowments are necessary or desirable. Together with this naturally comes an investigation of the constitution of governing bodies, and the inquiry whether they should be paid or unpaid. The existing public schools present examples of almost every conceivable variety of support and administration. Two—Eton and Winchester—are great collegiate foundations, with a provost, or warden, and fellows, who seem, by the Report, to treat the schools committed to them much as the lawyers are said to have treated the suitors for an oyster. Others, like Westminster, Canterbury, and Ely, are charges upon chapters of cathedrals. The great foundations of King Edward VI., except in the accidental cases of Bedford and Birmingham, rarely possess much more than a school-house and premises and an estate of a

few hundreds a year. Their governing bodies are usually chosen from the gentry of the neighbourhood, and have done their duty, on the whole, remarkably well. It is indeed most creditable to them that, with the very limited means in many cases at their disposal, the incubus of free boys, and under the vicissitudes of three centuries, they should have maintained the schools in the position of credit and usefulness they still enjoy. Others, again, like St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors, Ipswich, and Preston, are intrusted to the care of commercial companies or municipal corporations. Harrow from the accident of position, Rugby of wealth, have risen from the humble position of charity schools for the yeomanry of two or three country parishes to rank among the greatest schools of England. Some, as Marlborough and Rossall, are proprietary schools, so ordered as to admit sons of clergy at an advantage in point of payment. Some, like Hurstpierpoint and Shoreham, are managed by a body of diocesan clergy, and give an education to future farmers and tradesmen at terms so low that one wonders how the boys can be fed for the money, much less leave

anything in the shape of pay for masters. Lastly, we find two schools—Woolwich and Sandhurst—established and maintained by Government for the purpose of training officers. These derive from Parliament what support they require beyond the payments of the students, and are under the control of the Horse Guards. From these we may at once say we expect to derive no instruction, except it be what to avoid; first, because they are under Government; secondly, because military men, however excellent and useful in their own profession, are likely to be the worst possible school-masters.

The Commissioners devoted considerable time to their inquiry into the revenues and expenditure of Eton College. They find that the statutes assign the estimated revenue of the college to the provost, fellows, masters, and scholars, in such proportions that the provost would get, with allowances, say 90*l.*; the fellows together, 104*l.* 6*s.*; the masters and scholars, 238*l.* ‘At the present moment, however, the sum drawn from the college property on behalf of the fellows, over and above the annual value of their houses, is about 6000*l.*,

while that taken out of the same fund for the support and instruction of the scholars may, as it appears, be estimated at about 3400*l*.' The examination of the witnesses before the Commission was long and strict. Its severity may be estimated from an answer wrung from one of them,—‘I hold a living, *but I do not consider myself a perjured man in consequence.*’* When we compare with this the evidence of Sir John Coleridge,—

‘The non-observance of the Eton statutes, coupled with the oaths that are taken, is, I may almost say, a shocking thing, and the practice is, that when the functionary comes to take the oath, he says, “I cannot keep this,” or “I beg to pass over that,” *as if he got rid of responsibility by that.* It is a shocking thing that this should remain,’—

it is hard not to call to mind the saying ‘*Qui s’excuse s’accuse.*’ Nor can the provost and fellows plead that their memories had not been jogged before. So long ago as 1818, Mr. Brougham’s committee had called them to account. Lord Clarendon reminds the agent of the college that

* The question concerned accepting a dispensation to hold a living with cure of souls, forbidden under the statutes under pain of being held perjured. On the *reformationes* pleaded in excuse, one of the Commissioners pertinently remarked that ‘he understood from the clause that only the *penalty* of perjury was to be affected, that the *fact* of perjury was not altered.’ See *Evid.*, i. 747 *et seq.*

the appropriation of the college fines by the administrators of the Eton revenues was then brought before the governing body, which was warned that it was not according to the statutes. The witness replied that he did not think Dr. Goodall went so far as to admit that the practice was neither statutable nor legal, but when challenged to produce Dr. Goodall's words he does not do so. We find too that, had things remained in the state they were twenty years ago, the case would have appeared far worse than it does at present. In the year 1840 the maintenance bountifully ordained by the founder for the scholars had very nearly vanished altogether, and of so little value had the scholarships become, that they were not sought for, and at that date there were not more than thirty-five scholars in college. Shamed at last into a course of improvement, the society set about new buildings, and since 1846 the boys appear to have been tolerably lodged and fed. It seems, however, to have contrived to make the public pay part of the cost in the shape of subscriptions. As a specimen of their unexampled carelessness in the discharge of the trust committed to them, we may cite their

management, or rather mismanagement, of the Godolphin benefaction. Dr. Godolphin left 4000*l.* for the improvement of the boys commons. *The income was left to accumulate, and not applied at all.** This, too, at a time when no breakfast was given them, and their dinner and supper were a mere pretence. In point of fact, they lived at their own cost out of college. Altogether, the history of the treatment of the Eton scholars is not creditable. The Commissioners are careful to exonerate the existing body from blame. But their opinion of the system may be gathered from their recommendations, in which they propose to reduce the number of fellows from seven to five, and to make them mere stipendiaries at 700*l.* a year each. Unless this proposal be soon carried out, it may come to pass that a strong man armed, in the person of a sturdy reformer, may come in and ask what need of five, or three, or one? For indeed one may look through the whole of the Eton evidence from beginning to end without finding

* But as the money was left in 1780, and in 1844 the whole amount of stock was only 8000*l.*, the receipts do not appear to be fully accounted for. This is one of the 'college secrets.'

that the fellows are of the smallest use in any one particular, except that they preach by turns in chapel sermons which one of the witnesses describes as 'commonly very bad.'

The inquiry at Winchester was of much the same kind, and attended with much the same results. Large fines are levied on the college estates, and divided among the warden and fellows. But the scholars seem to have been always fairly treated. The warden, in his written evidence, is able to say, '*Most certainly* I consider the position of a foundation scholar to be as advantageous (both positively and relatively to that of a fellow and that of boys not on the foundation) as it was originally.' But when one of the Commissioners puts the question, 'As these fellows never reside, nor ever do anything for the benefit of the school, will you tell us why the abolition of them would be injurious?' the only reply that can be given is, that, in the opinion of the witness, 'it would be a great advantage to retain the fellowships, as they do at Eton, as a superannuation for the masters.' When, however, we turn to the evidence of what 'they do at Eton,' and find that the continuance of fellowships is

urged not merely as a means of providing for masters who have deserved well of the school, but also of getting rid of incompetent ones,* we are apt to question the advantage of retaining them. Besides, why should pensions be reserved for masters at Eton and Winchester more than any other school? The plain truth is that there are none in England better provided for, and yet there are no places from which there is such an outcry for provision. On the whole, looking to the total absence of distinguished names from the past lists of fellows of both colleges—for they appear to have been for the most part mere idlers from King's and New Colleges—their appropriation to themselves of large sums under a more than questionable administration of the college estates, and their present total uselessness, it is very difficult to see why they should be retained at all.

As governing bodies, the societies of Eton and Winchester fare scarcely less hardly at the hands of the Commissioners. The head masters of both try to find reasons for maintaining the authority of the

* See *Evid.*, i. 4110 *sqq.*

provost and warden, but they are hard put to it. As for the fellows, they give them up altogether. And one of the assistant masters of Eton, asked his opinion of the present relations between the provost and the head master, says plainly :—

‘ They vary very much, according to the disposition of the provost and his love of interference. The interference of Dr. Hawtrey, when provost, with the head master was constant.

‘ In what way ?

‘ He interfered in such a manner that the head master was simply crippled in all directions. The late head master did not like to press his own opinion in regard to any matter against that of the provost.’—*Evid.*, i. 4159.

This statement is nowhere contradicted, and does not appear to leave much room for argument in favour of retaining an officer holding to the schools the present position of the provost of Eton or warden of Winchester. This appears to be the opinion of the Commissioners, as in both cases they recommend changes under which their control over the head master in the management of the school will necessarily disappear. The governing bodies they propose to constitute, will, as nearly as possible under the circumstances, resemble the governors or trustees of other public schools, who

in no case, except the master of the Charterhouse, derive any income from the estates of the foundation. These bodies appear in general to have excellently done their duty. Thus the governors of Harrow and Rugby have succeeded in raising their schools to positions of imperial importance. Nor have those whose means and opportunities are restrained within humbler limits failed to do the best they can. Thus at Macclesfield the governors have applied a part of their income to the establishment of an excellent English school of more than one hundred boys, so that a Macclesfield tradesman may choose between a classical and a commercial education for his sons. Christ's Hospital maintains and educates more than twelve hundred poor boys. It is true that at that institution many improvements are urgently called for. Still the boys are beyond question recipients of great though not unmixed benefits. At Bancroft's Hospital, a school of the same kind, more than one hundred boys receive all the benefits the former affords, with none of its drawbacks. Bury St. Edmund's, Canterbury, Durham, Sherborne, Shrewsbury, and many others, are doing good

service in their respective localities. The great proprietary schools, which begin to be scattered about in different parts of the country, such as Haileybury, Marlborough, Rossall, and others, appear, so far as their short existence admits of a judgment being formed, to be administered with the like wisdom. But we fear they must occasionally feel severely the want of a permanent endowment. The Commissioners say with great truth,—

‘To a large and popular school, so long as it is large and popular, a permanent endowment is not of essential importance ; but there can be no doubt that such an endowment is of great service in enabling any school to provide and maintain suitable buildings ; to attract to itself, by exhibitions and other substantial rewards, its due share of clever and hard-working boys ; to keep up by these means its standard of industry and attainment, and run an equal race with others which possess this advantage ; and to bear, without a ruinous diminution of its teaching staff, those fluctuations of prosperity to which all schools are liable.’

This passage seems to indicate very well how far endowments are desirable, or we may say necessary, for the permanent well-being of a school, and also the limits within which they ought to be kept.

Let us now turn to the expenses of keeping boys

at school. This subject, always interesting to the paternal mind, is at this moment particularly so. For it is the prevailing opinion that the necessary expenses of schools are too high, and ought to be reduced.* This was our own opinion until we entered upon the present inquiry, and we must frankly confess that the evidence we have been led to look into has induced us to change it. Let us see what data we find.

In the sixteenth volume of the *Retrospective Review* is an account of the expenditure of two boys sent to Eton in the year 1560.† They were the sons of the famous Bess of Hardwick by her first husband, Sir William Cavendish. The account begins on the 21st of October, 1560, and goes on till the 23rd of November in the following year. It does not appear to contain their whole expenses, but merely certain payments on their behalf by some person employed by their mother to look

* It is especially urged that they are greater in proportion than they used to be, and that boys are much more pampered and indulged than their grandfathers were.

† We had marked this paper for reference before finding it cited in the Report (i. 63 ; ii. 4). It seems, however, still worth while to make some mention of it, since it may be interesting to some in whose way neither the Report nor the *Retrospective Review* are likely to fall.

after them. Nor can we pretend to represent the sums entered for particular items in modern money. We believe this to be impossible. Professor Rogers, in his letter to the Commissioners, estimates the 'purchasing power' of 1*l.* in the years 1440-49 as equal to that of 12*l.* now, while he rates 1*l.* in the years 1559-68 as equal to only 4*l.* in the present day. That is to say, the fall in the value of money in one century was twice as great as in the succeeding three. This seems to us, notwithstanding the influx of gold in that century, quite incredible. The truth seems to be that the conditions of demand and supply have so totally changed in the interval that no satisfactory estimate can be framed. In particular the difficulty of carriage in the 15th and 16th centuries must have made perishable goods, such as fruit, vegetables, poultry, &c., unreasonably cheap in some places and dear in others. We think we can find traces of this in the account in question. Thus 'one lytull chekyn' is charged at Eton 4*d.* But in the bill which Prince Hal makes Peto pull out of Falstaff's pocket, at a tavern in London, a capon is put at 2*s.* 2*d.* Clothes, how-

ever, seem to have been dear everywhere. Thus Hostess Quickly puts the holland she bought for the knight's shirts at 8s. an ell. In the Cavendish accounts 'pyseado' for coats is charged 8s. a yard; fine kersey, 3s. 4d. a yard; sewing silk, 1s. 8d. an ounce. The inference, then, we attempt to draw from such an account as this does not rest on the money paid, but on the *character of the items*. These seem to be, allowing for the difference of manners, just such as might be expected to occur in the present day in the school-bills of boys of such rank and wealth as the two Cavendishes. Thus, on their arrival at Eton, two friends, sons of Sir Francis Knolles, are asked to dine with them at the inn. They are attended by a man-servant from home. Furniture for their chamber is sent by water from London, and is returned in the same way at the end of the year. Although they wear the ordinary frieze school-gowns, the rest of their clothing, linen, hose, &c., is evidently both in quantity and quality far beyond the resources of poor boys on the foundation. This, we apprehend, will be the case, as between rich and poor, until the end of the world.

Let us come down to a period nearer our own day. We happen to possess an account rendered by a guardian to an orphan on his coming of age, of whose estate he had charge from 1790 to 1807. The boy had a moderate fortune left him by his father, and no relatives able to take charge of him. His guardian, therefore, though a friend of his family, was a stranger to him in blood. Even in the holidays he lived at his own cost. Every shilling, therefore, expended upon his maintenance and education appears in the account. He was sent to Bury St. Edmund's, to the house of Mr. Blomfield, father of the late bishop of London. Mr. Blomfield, besides keeping a little school of his own of the kind ordinarily frequented by the sons of the humbler tradesmen of a country town, had what at Eton would be called a *dame's* house, in which boys lived who were taught at the Royal school. Mr. Becher, at that time head master of Bury school, was a fellow of King's, and seems to have taken Eton for his model in his remarkably successful administration of the school. Now the manner of life in Mr. Blomfield's house at that time, if it resembled what we remember it some

five-and-thirty years later, was of the very humblest kind. And in fact we have often heard the person concerned speak in after life of the humble character of the accommodations of the place. We find, then, that in 1800 the boy's bills for board, payments to Mr. Becher, tradesmen's bills, &c., amounted to 59*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1801 to 69*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* These amounts do not include clothing, which the accounts show to have been bought for him during his holidays. Travelling expenses are sometimes charged independently, sometimes not. In any case they could not have been great, as he commonly went to Cambridge, only thirty miles off. Had he boarded in Mr. Becher's house, his expenses would have been, we believe, about 15*l.* a year more, or say from 75*l.* to 80*l.* a year.

Now what are school expenses at present? Let us take Dr. Kennedy's house at Shrewsbury as a fair parallel to Mr. Becher's in 1800. In the Appendix to the Commissioners Report is printed a copy of a Shrewsbury præpostor's half-year's bill in 1861. It comes to 47*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* It is stated to be near the average amount of bills from that school. Looking to the great rise that has taken

place in the rate of incomes since 1800, this increase appears moderate. We may get at the very lowest point at which a boy can be kept and taught in such a way as to make it possible for him to go to college with hopes of success, by consulting the statement of receipts and expenditure published yearly by the governors of Christ's Hospital. We learn there that the average expenditure on account of each of the 1205 boys is 41*l.* 1*s.* 7½*d.* Of this about 8*l.* 12*s.* may represent the cost of books and teaching. But it must be borne in mind that a considerable number of the boys are only seven or eight years old, and only forty or fifty (Grecians and deputy Grecians) above fifteen. Also that they are compelled to submit to various economies, if not privations, which would never be borne by boys of independent means, and which must materially reduce the expenses of the establishment. Take Marlborough for an example of the cheapest school possible consistently with a style of living more in accordance with modern habits and an education equal to the highest that can be obtained in England. Although Marlborough has no endowment, it has no rent to pay,

as the subscriptions of governors, in return for which they have the right of nominating boys, furnished the means of purchasing the ground and erecting the school-buildings. We believe, however, that the school was not carried through the first few years of its career without incurring a heavy debt, which has borne heavily on its resources, and, we fear, is not yet fully paid off. The great number of boys, exceeding five hundred, and some peculiar circumstances connected with the administration of the school, enable the governing body to keep the cost somewhat below what is possible at such a school as Shrewsbury. A clergyman's son is charged 52*l.* 10*s.* a year for board and tuition, a layman's 70*l.* By the kindness of the bursar of Marlborough College, we have before us copies of two half-yearly bills, one of either class, sent in last July. One comes to 43*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*; the other 32*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; giving an average of 38*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* (See next page.)

Measured by this standard, it will be found that the charges of most of the old-fashioned county schools leave no inordinate profit to masters.

MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE.

	A Layman's Son.			A Clergyman's Son.		
College Account.—Board and Tuition, for the half-year ending Christ- mas, 1866, payable in advance, on or before the 15th of July, 1866.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	35	0	0	26	5	0
Private Tutor* (optional)	.	.	..		..
Books	4	1	2	1	16	8
Bookbinding	0	4	6		..	
Parcels	.	..			..
Detriments.	.	..		0	4	2
Tradesmen's Accounts.—Tailor	2	18	4	2	10	2
Shoemaker.	0	5	0	0	16	0
Hair Cutting	0	1	0	0	1	0
Draper	0	2	0	0	1	6
Perfumer	.	..			..
Carpenter, Armourer, &c.	0	4	6		..	
Subscriptions, &c.—Rifle Drill	.	..			..
Towards Washing Linen	0	10	0	0	10	0
Sanatorium and Medical Fund—						
10s. half-yearly	0	10	0	0	10	0
Exhibition Fund (voluntary).	.	..			..
Total .	£43	16	6	£32	14	6

Let us now turn to the schools which may be taken to represent the opposite extreme of expense. At Rugby the returns furnished to the Commissioners state the average amount of the bills sent home half-yearly at about 65*l*. The

* To twenty boys in or above the fifth form, selected by the master, private tuition is afforded gratuitously. In other cases the private tutor's charge is 5*l*. per annum, or 2*l*. 10*s*. for the half-year, or any portion of the half-year; or 10*l*. per annum, and 5*l*. for the half-year when the pupil is in the fifth form.

highest actually sent home from the school-house at Christmas, 1861, came to 75*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.* This included a bookseller's bill of more than 10*l.* The lowest was 50*l.* 2*s.* 3½*d.* At Harrow the charges vary according as a boy boards with the head master, with one of the assistant masters having a *large* house, or with one occupying a *small* one. The head master sets the average annual expenses of boys in his house at from 138*l.* to 150*l.* At a small house, admitting sixteen boys, the bills seem to vary from 150*l.* to 210*l.* a year. In a large house of fifty boys, the lowest bill for the year ending Midsummer, 1861, was 138*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; the highest 197*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* One of the masters remarks in estimating his profits, which he puts at 29*l.* per boy,—

‘Perhaps I ought to notice, by way of accounting for the large expenditure here implied [*sc.*, in the statement which precedes], that not only are the habits of public schoolboys generally, and the accommodation provided for them, expensive, but Harrow itself is, from exceptional circumstances, a dearer place to live in than most parts of London.’

At Winchester it is not easy to say precisely what the keep and education of a foundationer costs. But the portion of the expenditure of the college, which may be placed chiefly, if not entirely,

to their account—that is to say cost of kitchen and hall, chambers and meals, and payments to masters—came in the year 1860 to 4383*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* This gives an average of rather over 62*l.* per head. The bills sent home to their parents for private tuition, tradesmen, &c., are shown, by an account furnished to the Commissioners by the second master, to have amounted for the whole seventy scholars, in the course of the same year, to 2080*l.* 5*s.*, or on an average to close on 30*l.* apiece. This result goes far to justify the charges made with a view to include a reasonable profit at such a school as Harrow, and the estimate of profits sent in by the masters. With respect to commoners, Dr. Moberly sends in, as a specimen of their expenses, a copy of a half-yearly bill from his own house, ‘as giving a perfectly faithful impression of the general rate of charges.’ We will insert it as one more example :—

	£	s.	d.
Hatter	1	3	0
Linendraper	0	6	3
Hairdresser	0	10	3
Bookseller	1	8	10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward . . .	5	7	4
Tailor	3	4	8
Surgeon (a regular half-yearly charge) .	1	1	0
Letterman,	0	10	10
Money advanced.	2	0	0
Weekly allowance	1	2	0
Half-yearly charges	42	0	0
Sempstress	0	1	0
Porter (ordered from the wine merchant)	1	6	0
	<hr/>		
	£56	12	10

It is difficult from among the labyrinth of items in the Eton accounts to disentangle the cost to the college of the seventy scholars; but it does not appear to exceed 4000*l.* a year—a little less than at Winchester. The payments for their food seem to come to about 2000*l.*; coals and gas to somewhat over 200*l.*; masters to between 400*l.* and 500*l.*; *camera scholarium* to about 1000*l.* A foundationer is stated to pay ten guineas a year to a tutor, and certain school charges amounting to about 3*l.* a year. He pays for his own washing, and five guineas a year to the college. The latter sum is intended to defray the expense of a matron, superintendent in sickness, &c., and other attendance. No examples are given of founda-

tioners bills, but we gather from these items that the cost of a scholar to his father is somewhat more at Eton than at Winchester.

The charges for oppidans vary.

The cost of the board and tuition of a little boy in the lower school is 100*l.* a year. The highest bill sent in at Christmas, 1861, on account of a lower schoolboy, was 67*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* (It should be observed that at Eton the year is divided into three, not two, portions.) This very young gentleman had managed in the course of rather less than three months to spend nearly 10*l.* on his tailor, and 4*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* on hats and gloves. The lowest at the same time was 44*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* In this case the tailor got but 7*s.* 7*d.*, the hatter and glover 2*s.*, the hair-cutter *nothing at all*. A thrifty boy that! A boy living in the house of an upper school assistant master cost his father at Easter, 1859, 72*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* This was a high bill. But this youth spent much less on the adornment of his body than the little Absalom of the lower school. An ordinary bill of the same date comes to 55*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* In the upper school, board in a tutor's house costs 120*l.* a year. In a *dame's* house it is about 20*l.* or

30*l.* less. Other charges, we suppose, are much the same. But Mr. Evans, who has one of these houses, thinks the payment not remunerative. Certainly it gives one a startling notion of the expensive way in which things are done at Eton to find that the addition of 'evening things,' that is to say, tea, sugar, bread, butter, and milk, in a house of thirty or forty boys, cost the 'dame' 470*l.* a year. However, we fancy a good many able schoolmasters would be very glad to change places with Mr. Evans.

The expenses of the masters who have houses are evidently great. Some indication of the reasons for this is given in the passage cited above from the Harrow evidence. But fuller details on this point are given in the Eton answers than anywhere else in the Report. The expense of entry upon a house is very large. It is put at from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* One of the Eton witnesses estimates it so high as from 3000*l.* to 6000*l.* Taking repairs into account, no great portion of this sum can come back on leaving, unless the usual career of a master is by some accident cut short. The boys live well, exceedingly well. The

table is spread for them four times in the day. The food is ample, and of the best quality. Twice a day, at dinner and supper, they have meat. One of the witnesses, a young man who had left Eton in 1861, states that the boys, not satisfied with this, commonly bought meat for themselves at breakfast. He thinks it was 'common for boys to eat meat three times a day, sometimes four.' At Rugby and at Winchester we learn that meat is only given once a day. At Winchester, boys are allowed to have hams and things of that kind sent from home, and care is taken of them on their behalf, but they are not allowed to buy in the town for themselves. In reply to a question from Lord Clarendon—

‘You do not think that meat is necessary more than once a day?’

the answer is—

‘No; I have myself been brought up, and my children have been brought up, and the boys have in all former times been brought up to be satisfied with meat at dinner only, and bread and butter at breakfast and tea. I have recently instituted a supper of bread and cheese at 8.30 p.m.’

We think most readers will agree with us in thinking this a very sensible reply. The scale of diet for

the scholars is rather higher, as they have meat for supper four times, cheese three times a week.

‘Shortly after I went there, the bursar put it to the vote of the school whether they wished to have cheese or meat, and they decided to have cheese three days a week and meat four.’

A good example of the reasonable way in which these little commonwealths are governed. At Rugby, a witness who had left the school says that they never had meat twice a day, ‘unless sometimes when we had been out having a very long run, or anything of that kind ; then they used to send some in at tea-time.’ But the boys frequently got meat for breakfast for themselves. No complaint is made by any of the witnesses. On the contrary, although they do not scruple to speak of things which they thought wrong or ill-managed, there is a remarkable tone of contentment throughout the evidence given by young men who had lately left the schools or boys still in them. Now we cannot say that there is anything here like unreasonable pampering. Nor is the scale of diet higher, even including what the boys buy for themselves, than it appears to have been three centuries ago,

when the two Cavendishes, having two guests to dinner, have a soup and *bouilli*, then a roast joint, and a chicken to follow. On the contrary, we think the masters deserve credit for providing a table calculated to diminish the frequency of appeals to the pastrycook—for there seems to be generally a pudding or tart after meat—and at the same time teach the boys temperance. Only in very thrifty and well-ordered homes, except under actual pressure of poverty, would boys be restricted to fare like this. The true source of expense is in the number of meals—excellent for the boys' health, but far more costly to the master than if they were allowed to gorge themselves twice a day,—and the style in which things are expected to be done. One witness says—

‘The boys would turn up their noses if you did not give them silver forks and spoons. Everything must be silver,’

Another, speaking of the large establishments required, says,—

‘The whole expense of my predecessor's establishment, as rendered to me, was 38*l.* *per annum*. Less than I give my man-servant.

‘(*Lord Clarendon.*) How many boys?

‘I do not know how many there were. My wage-book amounts to nearly 300*l.* I think it is 284*l.* I put the best

servants round them I can get ; I suffer them to take no perquisites, and I believe they are very honest in their service.'

If this appears to show an increase in the scale of living on the part of the boys, hear what the witness says further :—

' (*Lord Lyttelton.*) Are you very careful about servants ?

' Very careful. I think that is a most important matter. In the first instance, when I took this house, I found the whole establishment belonging to the boys, paid by the boys, by perquisites ; for which perquisites, of course, service was rendered, and it was with great difficulty that I got over things of that kind.'

'The masters one and all speak of the difficulty of estimating their profits. The Income Tax Commissioners, we are told, went fully into the question of profits from boarders in tutors houses at Eton, and decided that, making all deductions for that proportion of household expenses and establishment which might be considered as belonging to the family of the tutor, the cost of the boys and their establishment was 75*l.* per annum each. Mr. Wickham, at Winchester, judging from an experience of two or three years, puts his profits at about 23*l.* per boy. At Harrow, the masters of small houses (holding not more

than seven boys) sent in a joint statement, putting their profits at 50% for each boy. At a large house, as we have already seen, the estimate is about 30%. At Rugby, the profits on boys in the school-house are put at 17% 10s. per head; in other houses at 13%. Dr. Kennedy thinks he gets about 21% by each boarder, though he has been in the habit of returning it to the Income Tax Commissioners at 25%.

We have entered thus fully on the question of expense, because it has been much debated of late with regard both to schools and universities. We think that if the above statements are but approximately correct—and surely there is no reason to doubt them—no one can maintain that school charges are too high. 20% or 30% for the responsibility of the charge of a boy would not bear much reduction. For a boarding-house master lives on a volcano. A fever, unpopularity, getting one or two bad boys into his house, or the breaking down of his own health, may do him serious harm, possibly ruin him altogether. Then, while the labour of every other calling falls to a man by himself, here he must avail himself of the assistance of the ladies

of his family. A schoolmaster's wife with young children has a hard time of it. Men are apt to grudge this far more than their own exertions. Schools too demand men who have attained high University honours. Such men have a wide field open to them, and will not work except for an adequate return. In school-keeping this can only be represented by a handsome income. If exception can be taken to any of the profits we have indicated, it will be to the 50*l.* or 60*l.* an Eton tutor makes by each of his pupils. But why should not a rich man pay 50*l.* a year to a scholar capable of teaching his son how to spend wealth honourably? If it be argued that it is desirable the school should not consist entirely of rich men's sons, we grant it at once. We acknowledge that as it is undesirable to have none but very poor boys in a school, so far more undesirable is it to have none but rich. The best thing is just such a mingling of rank and wealth as God ordains in the great world. But that is not the master's affair. If rich men want to have the school as it should be, let them perform the part their wealth enables them. Some mixture there already is. The

founder has already done much towards it by the seventy scholars he provided for. Further, many parents, having, for example, moderate means themselves, but one of whose sons is heir to a fortune, or who, having but one, wish to endow him with the best educational capital they can, send him to Eton. If, again, the books of the masters of Eton and many other public schools were examined, we undertake to say they would exhibit instances of liberality that would shame the rich fathers who send them their sons and look sharp after every guinea. For when does a rich man pick out and educate a deserving youth of gentle blood at school with his own sons? But schoolmasters, never men of fortune, help many and many a boy. Also under present and indeed under all circumstances thrift must tell. No one can fail to remark the very wide difference between the examples of the highest and lowest bills given above from two or three schools. This too notwithstanding that, although in former days we can conceive it to have been possible to maintain poor oppidans at Eton for much less money than their richer companions, it is by no means easy to do so

now. Changes of manners for the last two centuries have all tended more and more towards equality in expense. Dress, once so decisive a mark of distinction, has become as far as men are concerned so precisely alike that a smart shop-boy in his Sunday clothes and cabbage leaf in mouth might be walking on the same pavement with the Prince of Wales, and no one know which was which. Wine, formerly in the middle ranks of life a luxury for high days and holidays, is now seen daily on every table. Personal attendance is far more required and obtained than was thought of a century ago. This is singularly illustrated by the practice of schools. Boys in old days waited, generally speaking, on themselves. If they wanted help, and were rich enough to hire it, they brought a servant, as the Cavendishes did, from home. This practice has not died out so very long, if indeed it be entirely extinct now. We ourselves remember a large family of a country gentleman's sons who, as they came up to college in succession, were waited upon by the same old servant brought from home with the eldest. We imagine that the state of things described by Mr. Evans, when the

servants who waited on the boys were paid entirely by perquisites, represents the transition state from the period when they had chiefly, if not entirely, to wait on themselves—a state of things we acknowledge we should gladly see restored—to that when the service was taken in hand by the master. It began probably with *tips* from an idleback here and there to do this or that little thing, and grew and widened into a regular system to which all contributed. It is no more possible to alter this than to make the world turn the other way. Consequently, those differences of attire or habits of life which formerly, whatever they involved, were at least not shameful or galling, would now be very painful. It is quite right therefore that schools like the great proprietary schools of which we have more than once spoken, and which are expressly arranged on the most economical scale, should contrive as far as possible to avoid any striking outward marks of difference between their own boys and those of other public schools. Nor can we reasonably expect that a boy of poor parentage should be able to go at pleasure to Eton or Harrow—may we not add to Oxford and

Cambridge?—and by favour of his teachers live at half the cost of his well-to-do neighbour. The only way in which this can be done is by putting into the hands of school and college tutors the means of helping deserving boys of good birth. This we believe to be practicable, and capable of being done with considerable advantage to the country. Whether it will be done is another matter. So sordid have the rich become, so corrupt in their use of wealth, that we do not expect it. But they, not the schoolmasters, must pay the penalty.

We conceive then that the profits of schoolmasters are on the whole far from unreasonable. We trust too that we have succeeded in showing that the scale of living, so far as rich men's sons are concerned, has not been raised; and that if boys of poorer birth cannot be maintained at school for much less money than their wealthier companions, it is due to a general change of manners rather than to carelessness on the part of their masters. Indeed, we think the evidence taken by the Commissioners shows that masters have done what they can to repress luxurious habits. We

believe that the pressure which is undeniably felt among the class of fathers who are most desirous of giving their sons a good education, and who find themselves hard put to it to find the means, arises from a different, and, we fear, a very hopeless reason. This is, that professional incomes have remained stationary, or even decreased, while all others have been very largely augmented. We doubt whether even barristers and solicitors have been able to raise their receipts in the course of the last fifty years in anything like proportion to the profits of trade and commerce. Very few bankers or merchants could have made larger fortunes than Lord Eldon, but the accumulations of the most successful lawyer of the present day must be small indeed compared with those of the tradesmen who inhabit the vast mansions about Hyde Park, or whose yachts crowd Cowes harbour. Nor can the leaders of the medical profession, we apprehend, make more than Sir Astley Cooper or Sir Henry Halliday did, if indeed more than Dr. Mead or Dr. Radcliffe, for the physician's fee was a guinea in their day, as it is now, and they seem to have had about as much as they could do. What then

must be the case with country clergy and doctors with large families? It must be a hard matter indeed with them to maintain sons at schools of the most moderate cost. For by the nature of the case they must board them in masters houses. A good public school is rarely within a walk of a village. The pressure on men of this class may be in some measure estimated from their eagerness to avail themselves of a good public day school for their sons when they get the opportunity. Thus we read in Dr. Hessey's evidence about Merchant Taylors school,—

‘Clergy, physicians, surgeons, barristers, solicitors, and others of limited and life incomes, are generally those whose sons come to Merchant Taylors’. Were the school moved into the country, it might and indeed would, if conducted vigorously, be full of boys; but it would not meet the case of those who at present send their sons to it, *i.e.*, who live sufficiently near town for their sons to attend it daily.’

A wise and self-denying argument. For Dr. Hessey, it can scarcely be doubted, would be a richer man if he were at the head of a great country school with plenty of boarders. We cannot therefore but express an earnest hope that schools like St. Paul's, Westminster, and Merchant Taylors,

may never be moved from London, but placed on such a footing as to extend much more widely the benefits they already confer on the classes indicated by Dr. Hessey.*

One word more, and we have done with money matters. We trust that what we have said about assisting deserving boys may not be interpreted into a desire to see exhibitions, scholarships, &c., thrown open to competition in larger numbers than at present. Without entering upon the question of how far commercial rivalry is likely to affect a boy's character, we think most people will agree that there is already quite enough of it. We believe that many tutors think the minor scholarships, which may now be obtained at most colleges before coming into residence, of very doubtful advantage.

* One of the advocates for the removal of Westminster into the country says, 'No large increase in its numbers can be expected unless it be removed from London. It cannot be urged that it would be an injustice to the London clergy, and other residents in town, to remove the school; for, as it is, they do not send their sons there.' A most astounding argument! If a man happen to refuse his dinner, are we to infer without question that he has no appetite and never will have any again? This would have easily settled the 'bread and butter question.' We should like to know what reply Christchurch logic could furnish to the inquiry, why other schools in the very heart of London are full to overflowing with the sons of 'clergy and other residents in town?' We do not ourselves believe there is any reason for the comparative emptiness of Westminster but a prejudice arising from circumstances which in the main no longer exist.

We venture to think it more than probable that a college which would have the courage to give them up, and let the tutor distribute the money quietly among the most needy men of good character, by no means excluding those who are not likely to attain great distinction, would find no occasion to regret the step. These mercenary strifes certainly contribute their full share towards that *commercial* view young men are too apt to take of their studies, to which we shall have presently to advert. On the other hand, nothing can be more mischievous than indiscriminate benefaction, and of all schools in the kingdom none fall so short of the intentions of the founders, or are productive of so little benefit to the public, as those to which the bulk of the boys are admitted by right of birth, either gratuitously or on payment of a nominal fee. These rights should be commuted, according to the revenues of the school and the wants of the place in which it is situate, either for a free maintenance of a fixed number of founder's scholars, chosen by a competent committee of nomination in concert with the head master, or else for a largely-increased number of day boys on the foundation at a

payment just large enough to make them value the privilege of admission. In this way a substantial benefit would be done to needy parents whose station in society, or the promise of whose sons, might entitle them to ask for help in educating their children for professional life. On the other hand the advantages of the schools would be widely extended. Let us take as an example the Perse School, Cambridge. In that institution there are one hundred foundationers, paying 1*l.* a year. There are also a few non-foundationers, paying 12*l.* a year. All are taught alike. To many of the boys a large part of their education, that is to say, all their Greek and Latin lessons, is of no use whatever. They never expect or desire to be more than humble tradesmen. Others, again, or rather their parents on their behalf, set a high value on the classical and mathematical teaching of the place, in the hope that they may one day be fit to send to college. Thus under one roof there are practically two schools, containing two sets of boys with views and needs utterly different, whom the same scanty staff of masters must teach as best they can. The present excellent head master has suc-

ceeded in making it a thoroughly good school, but is it possible to be satisfied with a state of things which wastes the labour of both masters and boys, while at the same time it narrows the field of usefulness to comparatively few? Throw open the school, raise the payment from 1*l.* to 4*l.* or 5*l.* a year, and all these difficulties and disadvantages vanish. For every vacancy on the foundation there are at least five or six candidates. It is not extravagant therefore to assume that the numbers would rise to two hundred and fifty or three hundred boys. In that case nothing would be easier than to provide a sound education for all classes of boys, pay the masters better, and free them from the weariness of spirit which must ensue on the consciousness of industry thrown away. We have taken this as one example among many of the loss which the carelessness or ignorance of the Court of Chancery has inflicted on the country in sanctioning schemes for the management of foundation schools. No man ought to know better than a judge of the superior courts that grammar schools require men of good manners and competent learning to govern them, and that such men are

not to be had for 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year and a house. If an able man enters upon a school of that kind, he either shortly leaves it, or breaks his heart over it. In the long run it will fall for the greater part of each century of its existence to some idle hunter after a roof and a piece of bread. We have no hesitation in saying that the very next step that ought to be taken in improving the education of the country should be to make the head masterships of schools in great towns posts desirable to men of large and generous views ; men who are capable of understanding that an education for trade may be made as liberal in its way as that which is considered proper for professions, and who will set vigorously to work to make it so. They should occupy in their worldly circumstances the same position relatively to the commerce of the place that a certificated master of a national school holds to the little tradesmen of a village. This at present they are very far from doing. Consequently there are very few public schools in towns which are really doing much for the middle classes of the future. Were it not for the great excellence of some private schools—few, we fear, among many,

yet enough to spread a little salt over the lump—these classes would shortly sink into flat barbarism.

We come now to inquire into the teaching boys get at school, a subject far more difficult than the foregoing to handle and to arrive at impartial conclusions. We will do our best, however, to lay the case fairly before our readers, as we find it in the Commissioners Report, and from such other sources as we can obtain.

The Commissioners began by proposing to examine a portion of the boys—‘the senior boys, constituting about one-fifth in each’—of the schools to which they were sent. Two head masters, with a good deal of reluctance, accepted the proposal. The rest expressed the strongest objection to it. We own we find it difficult to understand this want of courage. They might have relied on the Commissioners, not merely as upright and impartial men, but as accomplished scholars, well able to judge of the results of an examination. They were told that they would in every case be consulted as to the choice of men to be sent to examine the boys. Not that we think

that such an examination would have been of any great weight in determining the value of the teaching of the schools. The masters said very truly, that the results of a single examination held at a particular time can afford no fair test of the character of a school, and that there were plenty of means ready to hand of finding out what was desired to know of their teaching. The strongest argument against it was urged by Dr. Moberly, who feared it might prove a precursor of periodical Government examinations. These would be ruinous indeed. But considering the great labour of examining public schools, and the few men willing and competent to do it, we do not think this need have been apprehended. What we do wonder at is, that the masters should have lost the opportunity of letting the Commissioners see their boys. They might very well have stipulated that the Commissioners should visit the schools and conduct some part of the examination in person ; a stipulation which, looking at the names on the Commission, it is impossible to suppose would have occasioned any difficulty. The satisfactory result we anticipate is, we consider, made exceedingly probable by the

evidence given by junior scholars of some of the schools before the Commission. Several were called up—some elder boys, some quite little ones. The impression left by the Report—much stronger, no doubt, on the minds of those who saw and heard them—is, that whether the boys knew little or much for their years, they were of thorough good metal. Whatever opinion we may have of the average public schoolboy as a *scholar*, we believe that he is all that can be expected, and much of what can be reasonably desired, as a *man*. In short, we maintain that the schoolmasters missed playing the best card in their hand ; and we regret it very much, because we conceive that an important element is wanting in coming to an estimate of the condition of the schools.

The Commissioners were therefore driven to seek the information they required from other sources.

They first appealed to several college tutors in either University. The evidence given by these gentlemen is in some respects conflicting. It is too sometimes hard to make out whether they use the term ‘public schools’ in the narrower or

broader sense. But all seem to agree that the average acquirements of young men who come up to the University are below what might be reasonably looked for. Thus Mr. Kitchin says—

‘The average men bring up but small results of the training to which they have been subjected for years. There is a general want of accuracy in their work ; even the rudimentary knowledge of grammar and Latin prose writing is far less than it ought to be. . . . The University course of teaching is much hampered by the crude state of the men subjected to it.’

Mr. Hedley says—

‘I think that the education given at the schools does not sufficiently prepare boys for the University course. The boys are not well grounded in the subjects to which most of their time has been given, and on other points less strictly academical their ignorance is sometimes surprising. In fact, I am sorry to say that many boys come to the University from school knowing next to nothing.’

Of the comparative merits of schools we have some useful evidence. Mr. Rawlinson says—

‘I have observed a great difference in the state of preparation of boys from different schools, and (I think) a still greater difference between boys from schools and boys educated at home or by private tutors. The best prepared of our students are, undoubtedly, boys from the upper classes of the public schools ; and I think, upon the whole, the great public schools, with respect to their upper classes, may be said to be nearly upon a par. Sometimes one, sometimes another, takes the lead ; but all in turn bear away their fair share of

our honours. The case, however, is very different when we descend a little, and come to a lower grade of boys,—boys from forms below the sixth and fifth. From some schools these boys come up thoroughly well taught up to the point to which they have attained ; from others they come up miserably ill taught, or scarcely taught at all. . . . Of the boys who come up to us from schools, the worst taught, the most absolutely ignorant, are those who come up from the lower classes of the largest of our public schools :—in manner often all that one could wish, in knowledge they are absolute ignoramuses.’

Mr. Hammond—

‘(1.) Of all the young men who come to Trinity College, the most ignorant, the worst prepared, as a rule, are, in my opinion, those who immediately before coming to the University have been under the care of private tutors.*

(2.) The large public schools, patronized by the wealthy, are represented at Trinity College by a very mixed collection of good, bad, and indifferent, apparently supplied from every form, and certainly with great diversities of character and capacity. They always furnish a fair and uniform number of good men, and a large number of average men ; and even their worst, though probably the idlest, are not generally the most ignorant men in college.

(3.) Proportionately to their numbers, the schools which are confined to persons of small or moderate means send up the best students, partly because they send up none but their best men, and partly because the men themselves, having generally no private fortune, are stimulated to work by the consciousness that their future prospects depend entirely on their present exertions.’

* It must be borne in mind that most of these young men are sent to private tutors because they have been found at school hopelessly idle and stupid, and therefore got rid of

It is satisfactory to find that the education at the less expensive schools is in all points fully as good, in some better, than at those which are chiefly frequented by the wealthy.

Thus we hear from Mr. Kitchen—

‘The lower public schools, if I may use the term, and the better grammar schools, send us up the best-prepared men. Boys from the larger proprietary schools are sometimes very good, but we only see the best of these.’

So from Mr. Latham—

‘The schools which seem to me to do the best for all their boys on an average are the foundation schools, lying, in point of numbers, just below the great public schools, where the head master is able to exert a personal influence on the mass, and the proportion of master to boys is large. Such schools carry off a great proportion of our scholarships which are got by competition before residence, and it is seldom that an undergraduate who comes from thence has any difficulty in passing the University examinations.’*

Before entering upon the reasons to be assigned for these complaints of the ignorance boys bring away from school, let us inquire to what studies they are supposed chiefly to devote themselves while there.

* Had our limits permitted it, we would have given a list of the minor scholarships given away at Cambridge last year, with the names and schools of the boys who gained them. It would have been found to fully bear out Mr. Latham’s statement.

The staple of school education, at least so far as the schools we have in view are concerned, is plainly Greek and Latin. Readers will doubtless have observed that the replies we have just cited chiefly concern classical knowledge, as it is called. All, we may say, agree in the importance of this kind of learning. Even mathematical men do not venture to disparage it. Thus Sir John Herschel—whose reasonable letter appears to us one of the most valuable communications received by the Commission—says that he should be ‘one of the very last to depreciate all which is included in the idea of classical scholarship.’

Professor Airy—

‘Cannot express the value which it has been to him all his life to have had a good classical training. He has had, in particular, an enormous quantity of poetry committed to memory.’

On the question whether scholarship has on the whole advanced or declined of late years the replies do not agree. Thus Dr. Scott ‘ventures to say that the average of scholarship has declined within his memory.’ But he proceeds to explain that he means to speak of kind rather than degree. Mr. Ridding considers that ‘translating into English

has very considerably advanced. The composition of the best men is as good, and there are more men that do respectable composition and have good knowledge of higher critical questions.' Mr. Chase thinks that 'in the case of classical honour men, scholarship has certainly declined.'

Mr. Hammond writes—

* 'I do not consider that scholarship, and particularly the writing of Latin prose and verse and of Greek verse (of a certain excellence) has declined during the last twelve years. Probably more students attempt to compose in the dead languages now than did formerly; and I am inclined to think that the best do it as well as ever it was done. . . . There has been an improvement of late in the critical knowledge of the classical languages, owing to the sounder and broader views adopted in modern grammars; but strict grammatical accuracy in the accidence and syntax appears to me to be rather on the decline.'

On the whole, the balance of opinion appears to incline to improvement. If this be the case with the higher class of men, it is rather provoking, if one may so speak, to be assured that the average freshman is a more ignorant creature even in Latin and Greek, which are supposed to be especially drummed into him, than he used to be. We believe that Mr. Hammond hits the blot when he complains of the want of grammatical accuracy.

Grammar is, one may almost say, although boys are always supposed to be learning it, scarcely *taught* at all. That is to say, boys learn by heart out of a book rules which they are perpetually plagued to repeat by rote in the course of lessons, but there is nothing more rare than for these rules to be explained to them in simple words. We own we never could see the value of what Dr. Arnold said would be *μάλιστα κατ' εὐχὴν*, a common grammar jointly concocted. On the contrary, we cannot see that it the least signifies what book boys learn either accidence or syntax out of. All that is really important is to have plenty of examples under each part of speech. A few doggerel rhymes, such as Dr. Donaldson gives in his *Rudimenta*, or compositions like the old '*Propria quæ maribus*,' are very useful. But what is wanted for grammar is oral teaching. If a master would take, say a couple of lines, and make the boy who was up parse *every word in them*, calling upon boys here and there in different parts of the class to correct him where he was wrong; if, we say, this were done from the lower classes upwards, till found to be unnecessary, we venture to predict the knowledge

boys possess of accidence would soon be very different from what it is now. We particularly specify *every word*, because we have observed that, besides the large class of freshmen who cannot parse a single word, there are a good many who know the hard words but not the easy ones. This we account for by supposing that they have been practised in the one, especially irregular Greek verbs, but have been presumed to know the other. So again with syntax. Let a master take an *easy* sentence of Greek and show the boys how to analyze it, explaining to them as he goes along the meaning of the words he uses, such as subject, copula, predicate, &c. Let them never see a printed rule of syntax until the technical terms have become familiar to their minds through the simplest explanations, such as that noun means a name, tense means time, predicate means preached or declared, and so forth, with plain illustrations of course added. Then let there be put into their hands a really scientific grammar, and let them be shown how to use it by frequent handling in the course of lessons. We venture indeed to say that all classical teaching at schools would be better if

there were less of books and more of the master. Supposing him to be, as he ought to be, acquainted with the lesson of the hour, the best thing he can do for his boys is to bring in nothing but a plain text himself, and insist on their doing the same. Then, instead of dry discussions on the opinions of commentators, his own mind, and the minds of the boys with it, will be in active play. Nor let him be dissatisfied if he does not get through very many lines. Often two or three will occur which ought to suggest to him plenty to talk about. Take for example such lines as these from the most Christian of heathen poets :—

οὐ γὰρ τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοί,
τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα.

A man entering first on the grammar and then the sense of such a text, will not find much to spare out of ten minutes. We are inclined to think, indeed, that one of the greatest difficulties classical masters have to contend with is to cover ground enough—since there are a certain set of authors with whose works a boy who aims at classical honours must be familiar before he leaves

school—and yet make their teaching thorough. But it is time to pass on to mathematics.

In this department of study all agree in finding fault with the greater schools. Professor Price says—

‘I do observe a very marked difference between young men coming to this University from the great public schools, and from other schools or private tutors, as to their mathematical attainments. The young men from public schools are far worse prepared.’

Mr. Hammond :—

‘Freshmen have but a small and inaccurate knowledge of arithmetic, Euclid, and elementary algebra. This is, in fact, the weakest point in the education given at the public schools, so far as it is tested by the ordinary University course.’

As far as Eton is concerned, we do not wonder that mathematics are not thought much of by the boys. The assistant mathematical masters, although graduates of the Universities, and generally (the provost acknowledges) men who have taken high degrees, were found by the Commissioners not to have been, until quite lately, allowed desks in chapel, or to wear their caps and gowns, nor permitted to assemble in the same room with the other masters. At the time of their visit a mathe-

mathematical master, even if in holy orders, was obliged to yield the religious instruction of the boys in his house to a classical master who was not in orders.*

The provost and head master were closely interrogated by the Commissioners on this subject. Their answers may be found in Vol. III. of the Report, pp. 69 and 111. On the character of their evidence we will leave our readers to form their own judgment.

The assistant classical masters, to do them justice, showed perfect willingness to admit the mathematical masters to equality with themselves. Their evidence to this effect is so uniform that we need quote but one sample:—

‘Every mathematical master ought to be looked upon and publicly recognized by everybody as an assistant to the head master, just as much as ourselves, and not merely as ‘assistants to the mathematical master,’ which is their title in the printed school lists.’

What alterations, if any, have been made at Eton since the publication of the Report, we do not know.

* One piece of evidence on the position of mathematical masters at Eton is so astonishing, that, had it not been vouched for by the names of the witnesses, it would have been absolutely incredible:—‘If a mathematical master ventured into college or into chapel in his academic dress, *he was requested to take it off*. Once a year, on the founder’s day, he was invited by the college, but was only allowed to

In the Public Schools Kalendar for 1866, the mathematical masters are still placed by themselves under the heading of "Assistants in the Mathematical School," except two, one of whom is a near relative of the late provost, and the other is a junior fellow of King's. Their emoluments appear to be still far inferior to those of their colleagues. There is no complaint from any of the other schools of the *status* of mathematical masters. So far as we can judge from the arrangement of the lists in the Kalendar, care seems to be taken to give them precisely the same position as the classical masters. The replies of the head and other masters show no disposition to undervalue mathematics as a branch of education. Mr. Coleridge proposes a plan which appears simple, and which we may be sure, with his great experience, he would not have proposed had it not been practicable. He says—

‘I would, in every remove, have at the top of the remove two first classes—a first class in classics, which should have the highest position and value attached to it, on account of the quantity of the work ; and I would also have a first class in mathematics. In those two classes I should place a few of the first boys in classics and mathematics in each remove. They should be printed as first-class boys in classics or

mathematics, as the case might be ; and with respect to all the other boys of mediocre ability, and who would have no right to peculiar distinction, the relative number of marks they might obtain [*sc.*, in the school examinations] would determine their position.'

The reason why mathematics are worse in the great schools than in the smaller ones is, most likely, that the mathematical masters have an enormous number of boys to look after, and are obliged to give an undue proportion of time to the more promising ones, while the others are left to take care of themselves. Mr. Coleridge's plan would in a great measure meet this difficulty by enabling them to part off the best boys, and take them at a different hour. No one can fail to be convinced by the evidence that the low state of mathematical knowledge at the great schools is in no way due to any want of skill or industry on the part of the masters. Nor do we believe that the study of mathematics is a bit more repulsive to boys than any other. On the contrary, a boy has a kind of pleasure in getting a proposition written out right, or seeing his sum 'come out.' It is a result almost tangible, a little piece of property to be added to his stock. But if he finds that he

cannot easily get the attention of his master, the conclusion at which schoolboy logic is sure to arrive is that 'mathematics don't signify.' We fear that the University of Cambridge has unintentionally done much to strengthen this feeling in schools by making a mathematical degree no longer necessary for admission to the classical tripos. Had such a degree never been required, it might perhaps have been found possible to hit upon another way of inducing classical men to acquire some little sound mathematical knowledge. But we can hardly doubt that the removal of an existing restriction has served to discourage the study of mathematics. We do not place much faith in the 'Honour little go.' Some have proposed a general matriculation examination. No doubt, as far as schools are concerned, this would go far to meet the case. But the reasons assigned by Mr. Latham, in his letter to the Commissioners, appear to us conclusive against this plan.* Colleges, too, may easily do it for themselves. Is it too much to hope that such words as these of Sir

* See vol. ii, p. 28.

John Herschel, full as they are of wisdom, may induce the University to retrace her steps?—

‘As to the common remark that a very large proportion of young men entering the Universities with a high degree of classical training evince a repugnance to the mathematical studies there followed, and not unfrequently rather ostentatiously declare, and proceed to illustrate in practice, their inaptitude for such studies, it proves nothing but that the one-sidedness of their previous education has produced its natural effect; and the consequence I believe to be that a great mass of good mental power, which might have become available to human progress, if duly fostered and developed, has thus been lost to the community. All that I intend, however, in thus protesting against this prevalent notion, is to deprecate its being drawn into an argument for not insisting on attendance on the mathematical classes in the case of boys who really *do* make little progress, and throwing them back into an unmitigated classical routine.’

Substitute *undergraduates* for *boys* in the last sentence, and these words seem to us to gather rather than lose weight. Surely nothing can be worse for the ripening minds of youths from eighteen to twenty-two years of age than an ‘unmitigated routine’ of any study whatever.

It is encouraging to find that the *amount* of mathematics thought by the highest authorities desirable for a boy to bring to college from school is not large. In classics it is undisputed that a young man has very little chance of university

success without a thorough early training, and without having given the greater portion of his schoolboy hours to their study. It appears not to be so with mathematics. The Astronomer Royal's estimate is so extraordinarily low that we must give his own words. After saying that he thinks two or three hours a week abundantly sufficient for a schoolboy to devote to mathematics, he proceeds,—

‘I should take these as the limit—algebra [he assumes arithmetic, which he calls elsewhere a step towards algebra, and says it ought to be taught very well] as far as quadratic equations, and including them; the whole of plane trigonometry; and about two books of Euclid. I think that would be amply sufficient for commencing at the University; and taking the ordinary run of boys, it would be quite as much of demonstrative mathematics as they are competent to do. . . .

‘(*Mr. Thompson.*) Would it be possible, with the knowledge you have mentioned, that a boy going to the University should, with what he learnt there, obtain a place among the first six wranglers?

‘I have no doubt of it, or even be senior wrangler.’

If these words be true, it is hard indeed if boys of average ability do not get a fair share of skill in mathematics. As for promising classical scholars not liking them, we pay no heed to it. One of the first errors a young man has to get rid of, if he is ever to be worth his salt, is attention to likes and dislikes.

II.

WE approach now a disheartening part of our investigation. We refer to the cultivation of English literature. The Commissioners do not appear to have got a single encouraging reply to their inquiries on this head. One of the Rugby witnesses thought a few boys might read Shakespeare, Pope, or Dryden; but he spoke with no great confidence. At Eton a witness says the school library is very little used; the collegers, he thought, used it, but the oppidans very little. His evidence is rather too long to reprint, but it may be found in the *Report*, vol. iii. p. 249. The most surprising part of it is the following question and answer:—

‘(Mr. Thompson.) Beyond reading over the passages set for Greek iambs and hexameters, you do not think Milton and Shakespeare much read?’

‘No, I do not.’

If the witness's impression be correct, it is scarcely too much to call this the most discourag

ing answer in the whole Report. Taste for reading must be at a low point indeed if a boy capable of doing Greek iambics can set to work at translating a passage from the *Tempest*, or *As You Like It*, and not be tempted to read the play. It cuts away what we have always been in the habit of considering one of the strongest arguments for continuing the practice of Latin or Greek composition—that it introduces boys to the study of most of the great English writers. For ourselves, we know of no early recollections more grateful than the hours so spent. We fear, however, that what the witness says is too true not only of Eton but of all schools. We have for the last five or six years taken some pains, as far as moderate opportunities permitted, to find out what English writers the most promising freshmen of a college in Cambridge had read before coming up. The result was very meagre. In particular, lecturing one term on some Satires of Juvenal—than whom no writer is more readily illustrated from English poetry—frequent attempts to wring an illustration from some one or other of the audience proved an utter failure. There appear to be libraries at all the schools, and

in some of these a good proportion of English books. We are of opinion that the usefulness of a library to boys depends very much on its being readily accessible, and the books not being shut up in cases, but standing on open shelves. At Bury, in our own boyhood, there was an excellent general library in the sixth form room. Any one wanting a book had only to take it down and show it to the monitor of the week, who entered it in a book kept for the purpose. He was recompensed for his trouble by being excused some small part of his school work. The books were before our eyes all school hours, so we knew perfectly well what we could find there, and the use made of them was very great. They suffered no harm beyond fair wear and tear, and we never remember a book being lost. We doubt very much whether schoolmasters can do much in the matter, beyond thus putting books before the boys, and giving them a subject now and then for English verse or prose. Of course the attempts of most boys at either will be very poor, but it does not follow that they are useless. Regular lessons in English would assuredly prove a failure, nor have we much faith in lectures.

On looking through the Kalendar, there appears one school at which the experiment is under trial, and as the school contains three hundred boys, on a sufficiently large scale. It is stated that at Uppingham 'a great characteristic of the school is the great encouragement given to English scholarship in work and prizes.' The boys enjoy the further advantage of hearing a lecturer who, if newspapers can do the business, must, we imagine, by this time have achieved a world-wide reputation. When, however, we turn to the list of honours attained by scholars of the school, we find 'first classes' conspicuous by absence. Ten years produced but two wranglers at Cambridge, no first-class men in any other tripos, none in the final schools at Oxford.* There is, therefore, nothing here at present to show that pushing the study of English in schools will be profitable to the cause of letters. For our own part, we have no faith in what is called encouraging English reading. Unless a boy has, before the years at which he is likely to come to school, im-

* On the comparative value of the University honours, which school-masters love to parade in the Kalendar, see Mr. Johnson's evidence, Report, ii. 128.

bibed a taste for it which he will strive to gratify at the cost of the morrow's lesson, or even let it 'cheat him of his hour of play,' he will not read much good English literature, except indeed Latin and Greek be given up altogether for systematic English lessons—a consummation which, *pace* Mr. Lowe, we should be heartily sorry to behold. Our own impression is, that while the shilling novels and circulating libraries have done something towards the neglect in question, constant worrying about lessons has done much more. Although no more is really learnt than formerly, boys are not half so much left to themselves about lessons as they used to be. Formerly the school hours occupied but a small part of the day. Boys had to get their lessons out of school as they best could. If they neglected them, there was the terror of the rod. Thus every tub, to use John Bunyan's homely figure, had to stand on its own bottom. Clever boys soon learnt how to manage their time in such a way as to leave a good portion to spare for their own devices. Now there is always some one to see after their doing this or that work, so that they have no time for the development of their

own tastes. The effect on average boys is to leave them stranded just where they were, while on those of more ability it has been disastrous in the extreme.

Of French and German there is little to be said. Dr. Moberly says :—

‘Not much is learnt, I fear, in the French classes. In the German classes more is done, because the German pupils are volunteers. I attribute the comparative inefficiency of the French classes to several causes : (1) the fact that all the residue of the school, including those who are more dull and idle, are in the French classes ; (2) to the total ignorance of the language with which many boys come to school ; (3) to the fact that foreigners can seldom be found to teach effectually classes of English boys who are not anxious to learn ; (4) that many of the boys and many of their parents care very little for their progress in French.’

This exhaustive statement is probably just as applicable to schools in general as to Winchester. Dr. Arnold, in a letter to Lord Denbigh quoted by the Commissioners, proposes an arrangement in which he distinctly limits his prospect to the acquisition of foreign languages as dead languages during the stay of boys at school, believing that no method of instruction whatsoever would communicate the power of speaking them fluently or pro-

nouncing them well, and that as a basis on which to raise these accomplishments subsequently his own plan was the *least bad*. Perhaps he a little overstates the case ; yet no doubt what he says is substantially true. The truth is, it is entirely unreasonable to expect more than this to be done at schools. More could not be achieved without a larger staff of foreign masters, and a much larger share of time being given to the subject. That is quite impossible. Besides, the end may be gained much more easily and cheaply by a little pains in the school-room and drawing-room at home, before the children are of an age to go to school.

The Commissioners say, with this, we apprehend, in view :—

‘It is perfectly practicable, we believe, within the time given to modern languages at these schools, to impart a good grammatical knowledge of French ; and, in the case of those boys who have learnt the rudiments of French before they come to school, some acquaintance with German also ; and practicable also, if not to impart the power of speaking French, to keep it up and improve it where it has been previously acquired.’

Accordingly, in their summary of recommendations we read :—

‘Every boy should be required, before admission to the

school, to pass an entrance examination, and to show himself well grounded for his age in classics and arithmetic, and in the elements of either French or German.'

Before we leave the subject there is one remark we must make. If foreign languages, French in particular, are to be more successfully taught in schools, they must be got out of the hands of the booksellers. Boys are overwhelmed with manuals under all sorts of ridiculous names, intending to teach them idioms. Often, if a new master comes, he at once changes all the books. As for teaching French idioms, there is nothing like a piece of chalk and a black board, on which to write little sentences of English for the boys to try their hands on. When they get beyond this, let them try writing a letter, or to translate a penny-a-liner's paragraph in a newspaper about a robbery or a fire—not the leading article—into French. Indeed, we regret very much that the Commissioners did not find themselves able to enter fully into the matter of books in general. We venture to say that there is no grievance more fraught with expense to parents and positive injury to the boys, than the inordinate quantity of books—often the most wretched compilations—they are compelled

to buy. We have heard of a book bill of a boy entering the sixth at a public school, coming to 19*l*. We know an instance of a young man going to take charge of the class second in rank at a great school, and finding the average cost of the books supplied on entering it between 5*l*. and 6*l*. He at once reduced it to less, and in many cases much less, than 1*l*. Access to a fair library being supposed, all that a boy really wants, as far as classics are concerned, are dictionaries, an atlas, Keightley's histories of Greece and Rome—which are far better, inasmuch as they are more independently written, than any of the numerous manuals of this kind of which the press has been so prolific of late years—grammars, and the text of the authors he is reading. All the tribe of books of the *excerpta* class, *Arnold's exercises*, *verse-books*, and the like, are a costly nuisance. A portion of the money so saved would be well spent in letting the boy collect a little library for himself, with the single stipulation that the books should be such as he could keep and use when he grew up. We are sorry to say we have known a case where the sale of books to the boys was made a regular source of profit to

the institution. We trust however this is very rare.

The Commissioners inquired particularly into the cultivation of natural science. Not much appeared to be done in that direction. They invited communications from several scientific men on the subject. All strongly urged that schools should at least attempt to give boys a chance of calling out a taste of this kind. No one can possibly gainsay the importance of doing so. But how is it to be done? Lecturers, it will probably be replied, should be invited to visit the schools and give courses of lectures to the boys. Nothing could be better, if the lecturers were worth hearing. But, as a rule, nothing can be poorer than scientific lectures. They are of about the calibre of ordinary sermons, without the excuse of a bishop on the one hand, and a congregation on the other, forcing the poor sufferer to deliver himself of a dissertation. Men who have a true love for nature, and devote themselves to her study, rarely have leisure to travel over the country delivering lectures. Consequently schools fall into the hands of adventurers, who go about seeking what they

may devour. But if a single lecture could now and then be given by men like Professor Owen, Mr. Paget, or the Astronomer Royal, on subjects of their own choosing, or by any of the masters or their friends who might chance to combine the character of sportsman and ornithologist somewhat after the fashion of the entertaining ‘Old Bushman’ of the *Field* newspaper, there are perhaps few things that could be more useful. A *good* lecture on some branch of natural history or science is often a turning-point in a boy’s career. But when we are urged to make physical sciences a regular part of school teaching, and to give up, as one of the witnesses would have us, a full fifth of a boy’s working hours to it, we demur, and question the use of it. No doubt a little knowledge of that kind makes a boy apparently much more intelligent in the society of his elders. But that is not the object of his going to school; it is rather to train and strengthen his reason. The different effect of classics, and sciences like chemistry, electricity &c., is well put by Dr. Moberly, addressing himself to the advocates of natural science :—

‘What you call “principles” are but largely-generalised

facts, equally sure to fade away, unless pursued in some professional or semi-professional way. . . . The difference which I see between those things [*sc.* classics and natural science] is, that whilst the one fades absolutely, and leaves nothing behind, the other gives power. All classical learning tells on a man's speech—it tells on a man's writing—it tells on a man's thoughts; and though the particular facts go, they leave behind a certain residuum of power. And precisely the one great problem educationists have to consider is how to constitute a system of education which will impart to the mind that power in the highest degree.'

The whole of Dr. Moberly's evidence on the subject is well worth perusal, and to our minds quite convincing. But it is not to be inferred that he undervalues the study of nature. On the contrary, he gives a prize for wild flowers; thus, with the excellent good sense which seems to characterise everything at Winchester, choosing exactly the department of science most healthy, in every sense of the word, for boys to follow, and putting them precisely on the right track to make it permanently useful and instructive. For study of their own is worth all the lecturing and teaching in the world.*

* It does not seem easy to get either masters or boys to pay much attention to the natural sciences. In the Cambridge local examinations they get their full share of encouragement. The proportion of marks

Drawing and music do not escape the attention of the Commissioners; although they could not devote much time to their inquiries about these accomplishments. Opportunity of learning both is given at the schools. Not many boys seem to make progress worth speaking of in drawing. Music seems to be popular. One of the witnesses at Eton says,—

‘There is a musical society lately started among the boys; and I think it would be advisable to have a choral, but short, daily service, not necessarily beginning the day.’

No one can have been present at the chapel at Marlborough without being pleased with the psalmody.

On reviewing the results of the inquiries of the

allotted to each of them is two-thirds of those given to Latin, and certainly a good paper may be done in any one at the cost of far less labour than must be spent in learning Latin enough to pass. The subjoined table will show the comparative neglect of them. The total number of boys under examination was about 1470, of girls 230.

BOTANY.		GEOLOGY.		ZOOLOGY.		LATIN.	
Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
19*	22	7†	7	48	24	794	12

* Of these, 13 came from one school.

† Of these, 6.

Commissioners into the education given at the schools, it is impossible not to conclude that the increased attention apparently paid to the bringing up of boys has not at present raised their average amount of knowledge in the degree that might have been hoped, nor can one resist the inference that there are some general causes at work to neutralise the endeavours of teachers. No doubt there are particular causes at work at particular schools. Thus at Eton a servile adherence to customs, merely because they are customs, seems to be fruitful of abuses and waste of time. Great complaints were made to the Commissioners of the time-table. But lions of all sorts and sizes stood in the path of alteration. It is amusing to see how easily the Commissioners bowl over all such difficulties. So again the practice of choosing masters exclusively from Eton men, and those almost always collegers, must militate very much against the advancement of the boys. Although the evidence shows that there are some most admirable exceptions among the masters, it is, on the face of the case, impossible that men who have never lived in any world but that of Eton, King's, and then Eton over again, should, generally speak-

ing, be able to take more than a very narrow view of things. Often they know very little, even of the little world of Eton itself. Mr. Johnson says :—

‘Many of those who come as assistant-masters have lived so entirely among the collegers that they know very little indeed of the school generally. Some of the young men who are now masters at Eton were only in the school about four years, during which time they were entirely engaged in their studies, and took little or no part in the games of the school. Being scholars of the college they knew very little of the social life of the school.’

Mr. Johnson wishes everything at Eton from the Provostship downwards to be thrown open. But there must be something much more than this. A chief cause of the ignorance prevalent at Eton and other great schools is to be found, we believe, in the vast numbers of boys they admit. The consequence of this is, that instead of the compact unity of a school of from 100 to 150 boys they become mere agglomerations of boarding-houses, and the influence of the head master is so little felt throughout the school, that the tutor of the house in a great measure takes his place, so that the whole becomes very much like an aggregate of little schools closely resembling each other, and containing 30 or

40 boys each. In these there has grown up such a ruinous system of private tuition, that a boy is constantly being helped or pulled up or in some way or other looked after by somebody about his lessons. He scarcely knows what it is to meet with a difficulty and be forced to tackle it by himself.* The old county grammar schools have not the staff to do this. Besides, in them the head master is much more *the* teacher of the school, and regards himself as much more, and his assistants as much less, responsible for the progress of each boy. The consequence is that the boys are left much more to find their own way along the road to learning, and, depend upon it, that is the only way by which a man can advance more than a few tottering steps along that road. Nothing to our minds is more to be regretted in the educational discussions of which we are so full, than the apparent want of perception that it signifies very little what a boy learns in comparison with how he learns it, and what habits of mind he brings away

* The Provost of King's appears to wish 'private business' done away with at Eton (iii. p. 290). For the unreasonable amount of help a boy gets, see Mr. Walford's evidence (iii. p. 265). For the good side of private tuition see Sir J. Coleridge's evidence (iii. p. 150).

from school. Even if his teachers can give him no more than the barest rudiments of knowledge, no more than reading, writing, and arithmetic, yet if they turn him out a sober, patient man, with a genuine thirst after truth, they have done him justice, and deserve his lasting gratitude. Another evil inseparable from schools of great numbers is that they are sure to gravitate towards uniformity of type. There is a singular want of individuality in boys from the greatest schools. You can almost tell an Eton man, a Harrow man, a Rugby man, in a chance conversation in a room or a railway carriage. This may not be without its advantages, but we cannot help thinking that as far as the mind is concerned, its effect is likely to be dwarfing. If this be true with regard to ordinary boys, far more likely is it to be true with boys of some genius. And, in fact, it is surprising, if one begins to reckon over those who in any profession or department of knowledge have stood high above their contemporaries, to find how few have been brought up at the great public schools. Even of those who may be cited, such as—to take two widely different examples—the Duke of Wellington

and Sidney Walker, the history of their school life rather strengthens than weakens the case. Whereas in a man like the Marquis Wellesley may be seen an example full of warning of the kind of injury to which a boy of very decided genius is exposed in a school where fashion, working through great numbers, is almost omnipotent, and leaves its mark deep on an impressible subject. In some points, and those not the best, of his character, he was an Eton boy to the last hour of his long existence.

One witness gives a reason for the low standard of knowledge among ordinary freshmen, which deserves serious consideration. Mr. Eaton says :—

‘It has long been held among college tutors that the late age (eighteen to nineteen) up to which young men are retained at our public schools before quitting them for the universities, is counterbalanced by no corresponding increase in the amount of knowledge gained. In this, as in other points, the many are sacrificed to the few. While the really persevering and intelligent youth is gaining fresh stores of information, improving his powers of taste and composition, and grounding himself in his knowledge with a view to competing for scholarships at the university, the bulk of young men at a public school are going back, not progressing. They have reached an age when the stricter discipline fitted to boys is losing its hold—they have no adequate motive to engage their diligence.’

If Mr. Eaton be right, the sooner fathers lay his advice to heart the better. For a year earlier to college means a year more of active life, and a year less of costly maintenance.

Of the decay of genuine love of literature, the advance of which among boys appears to be irresistibly made out on all hands, we acknowledge our belief that a prime cause is the mercenary view of learning perpetually set before their eyes. From their very earliest years there are exhibitions, scholarships, and other things of the kind to try for. In some way or other learning is always made a matter of success or money. Whatever may be the effect of this on a boy's material interests, there is nothing more fatal to all hope of his making good use of his schoolboy days, either as a season for disciplining his mind, or a seed-time of a future harvest of intellectual enjoyment. A father had better make up his mind at once to give his son an education of an inferior stamp than deliberately place before him advantages of this kind as the object and reward of diligence. No doubt a consciousness of this is one reason of that indifference on the part of fathers to the literary

advancement of their sons of which many schoolmasters loudly complain. Fathers know in their own minds that to 'get on' at school means to enter prematurely on those contests for gain, of which a man has more than enough in after life. But not caring to argue the matter they let their feeling pass for indifference.

But of all reasons for the prevailing ignorance of young men, we believe none so powerful, except, perhaps, the private tuition system, as that which is assigned by nearly all schoolmasters in defence of themselves, the want of cultivation at home in very early years. Parents, especially mothers, seem to have lost faith in the value of early intellectual training. Medical men, too, have got a way of saying, 'Let the boy's brains alone, let him get vigour of body now, and leave his mind till by-and-by.' Are a boy's brains then no part of his body? They demand reasonable exercise just as much as his arms and legs, and to begin to learn such things as are within the compass of an infantine understanding is far from unfavourable to a child's physical strength. Fathers, where their avocations permit it, may do much for their children

in their earliest years. They, however, seldom have leisure for teaching. A kiss after breakfast, a quarter of an hour in the drawing-room before dinner, are unhappily all that most fathers now-a-days can find for their offspring. We appeal, therefore, chiefly to mothers, with whom teaching is not only more possible, but far more valuable. For although it is not the matter with which we are chiefly concerned at this moment, we cannot leave out of view the moral effect of a mother's discipline on a boy. Her little lessons convey much more than the rudiments of human knowledge. They teach her child patience, gentleness, and respect for her sex. Under her he learns to think a woman's rebuke his surest guide, her praise his purest earthly reward. We do not ask for much, a little reading, writing, and counting, a few words of French, and possibly Latin, Markham's History of England, the Bible, and, notwithstanding the author of 'Eöthen's' sneer, Watts's Hymns. We do not understand, indeed, why that writer, rightly praising his mother for what she had done well, should not have been content to let alone other people's mothers, who possibly did better. For it

may be questioned whether Pope's Homer be so likely to implant a pure taste for poetry in a child's mind as Watts's Hymns. We maintain that of the two the latter is not only better adapted to the understanding of an infant, but simpler and better poetry, and therefore more likely to prepare a boy to understand and love Homer when he can read him in his own tongue. For a child of lively genius a few works of imagination may be added, such as the 'Arabian Nights,' one or two of Sir Walter Scott's novels, or even a scene or two of Shakespeare. Nor will a woman of taste and refinement take her boy into the garden or the fields without trying to kindle in his mind a loving curiosity about the marvels of beauty around him. Were this generally done, we should soon cease to hear of dull scenery—as if anything from God's hand could be dull to a seeing eye! The course, however, of teaching must be suited to each case. We can here only indicate an outline. But with all the earnestness in our power we implore English mothers to trust to their own good sense, and neither permit their children's brains to lie fallow, nor, if they can help it, leave it to others

to sow in them the seeds of knowledge and observation. They rightly think it unmotherly and mischievous to hand over the bodies of their infants to the nursing of a foster-mother : let them reflect whether it may not be yet more unnatural and more perilous to intrust to others the nobler office of intellectual nurture. But we do not believe they need any assurances of this. Their failure in this department of duty is probably owing, in the main, to a modest distrust of their own abilities. So much is talked about education, so high are demands pitched, that they think the little they can do can be of no importance. Let them then be assured that no teaching of future years will be so powerful to make or mar a boy as the lessons of industry or idleness he gets from his mother in the first eight or nine years of his existence. It is in her power to train him to docile and observant habits, and the most learned and experienced instructor can do no more.

On one point the Commissioners found the witnesses, happily, quite unanimous—the improvement of manners in public schools. College tutors, of all persons most competent to speak to this

question, express their satisfaction strongly. Thus Mr. Latham writes :—

‘Boys from public schools have decidedly improved in point of moral training and character within the last twenty years. The old grossness and brutality have disappeared, and the use of coarse language is, at the larger schools, confined to a few generally acknowledged to be “a bad set.” The young men from Eton are generally particularly pleasant to deal with as pupils. The relation between master and pupil at school seems to be much closer and more satisfactory than it was formerly.’

We quote this passage the more willingly because having spoken freely of the evil effects of an overgrown system of private tuition, in the literary department of education, we are glad to take an opportunity of drawing attention to the excellent moral results of the tutorial system at Eton. We would refer any one desirous of full information on the subject to the evidence of the Rev. S. T. Hawtreys (*Report*, vol. ii. p. 157), too long to reprint here, which will be found to give substantial reasons for the conviction he expresses,—

‘That the tutorial relation, as it is understood and carried out at Eton, is the very pivot upon which the whole system turns, and that to break up this relation would be to wound Eton in the most vital point.’

At Winchester there is a curious system of boy

tutors, of which Dr. Moberly appears to approve, if restricted to the lower part of the school. He is anxious to introduce private tuition more largely into his system. We cannot find that there is any other school at which the private tutor holds the same kind of relation to his pupils as exists at Eton. In fact, it appears to be incompatible with the monitorial system, as strongly upheld elsewhere as it is discouraged at Eton.* We do not pretend to give any opinion on the controversy. But whether order be maintained by tutors or monitors, the evidence of moral improvement appears to have satisfied the Commissioners, and they state their satisfaction both in their general report and in that of each school. At Rugby, indeed, the head boys appear to have reached a height of moral excellence unparalleled in history.

‘A Rugbeian of a few years standing at Cambridge told us that he should have been glad in his days to see a more general disinclination to show up stolen passages in the school exercises ; but Dr. Temple is of opinion now that deception of a master by the use of a “key” would be disdained by an “upper school” boy.’—*Report*, i. p. 259.

So much the better, doubtless. Nevertheless we

* See the evidence of the head master of Eton, *Report*, iii. 108.

cannot help thinking that even 'upper school' boys might as well have exercises set them that left no chance of using a 'key.' When again we read that 'smoking is generally condemned as affectation; drinking as bravado,' we are only withheld from giving loud thanks that Rugby is not as other schools are, and calling upon all fathers to send their sons there, by the remembrance of Dr. Arnold's grief at a time when 'the vice of drinking prevailed in the school,' and his thinking when he saw 'a knot of vicious or careless boys standing round the great school fire, that the devil was among them'* together with a conviction that boys under Dr. Temple must be of the same passions and failings as boys under Dr. Arnold. Seriously, however true this statement may be, it is pleasanter to read Dr. Temple's own modest account of the results of a Rugby education (*Report*, ii. p. 310). The truth is, it is well made out by the Commission that a great moral improvement has been achieved of late years in both masters and boys of all the schools to

* See Stanley's 'Life of Arnold,' i. 119, 170.

which they were sent, and the passage at vol. i. p. 298, which reads somewhat invidious under a particular school, might very well have appeared in the General Report of all. For believing it to be on the whole true of Rugby, we believe it to be true of all the other schools visited by the Commission, and in just about the same measure, neither less nor more.

Our own impression is, that when our times become historical the defect in the moral training of schools of the present day will be found to be that, as an Eton friend put it the other day, 'things are made too easy.' Although, as we have seen, the masters of the great schools are not disposed to pamper boys, they cannot altogether check, indeed they can do very little towards curbing, the folly of indulgent or ostentatious parents. We have already noticed the style in which things are expected to be done by masters of boarding-houses ; such that we verily believe the proportion of profit on the terms charged is not so great as it was half a century ago. But besides this, there are opportunities of boyish extravagance which they have no means whatever of hindering, things

which taken one by one are trifling, but taken together make a life of lavish, self-indulgent habits, the worst way of living in which a boy can be brought up. No doubt at schools like Eton or Harrow there have always been a certain number of boys who lived expensively. There are some whose rank in a manner compels them to do so. What we fear now is that, owing to the sudden influx of wealth since about 1848, the proportion of boys spending large sums is larger than it used to be, while being chiefly sons of uneducated people their expenditure takes the form of coarse and vulgar ostentation: they don't go to Eton to learn, but to form connexions, and they think money will help them. We have been told of an instance of a father setting apart 400*l.* a year for his son's Eton expenses. If we are mistaken in this apprehension, it would be well if some one competent to speak on the subject would set the matter right. For there is certainly a general impression abroad that money *tells* at school more than it used to do. We apprehend too that most college tutors would agree in the remark of Mr. Hammond that—

‘Of late years the undergraduates, especially those who have been at some of the large public schools, seem to me to have become more expensive in their habits.’

Holidays again have become more unreasonably long. Fifteen or sixteen weeks in the year is about the average nominal amount. Surely this might well be reduced to twelve. Then there are weeks for royal marriages and their consequences, besides days here and there, of which Mr. Johnson gives a droll account :—

‘Besides this (conforming to the Church kalendar) we get half-holidays and holidays for such events as the birth of a child in the family of a fellow’s son or daughter, the appointment of an Eton man to a judgeship or a colonial bishopric, the visits of distinguished personages, or the presentation of personal ornaments to the head master (!!) by noble representatives of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.’

Half-holidays in moderation are very useful, in fact necessary. But there are few things more pernicious than a whole holiday at school. It is too long, and becomes a day of idleness and mischief. On the other hand, while we by no means wish to see the old roughness of manners restored, we are not at all sure that the daily current of schoolboy life may not be, and is not, made too smooth. The grown-up world is pretty much as it

used to be: losses and disappointments still take the place of impositions; some men bully and some get bullied; there are the 'swells,' the 'cautions,' and the 'duffers,' just as there were at school. But we doubt whether school is so true a picture of this chequered career of riper life as it once was. No doubt the hardest problem a schoolmaster has set before him is how to draw the line rightly between license and restraint. Wherever he can root out evil he does well; wherever he only stifles it, or drives it into the system, he does harm. We are disposed to doubt whether cutting down opportunities of getting into mischief may not, in some cases, be confounded with eradicating the passion for it in boys. There is, moreover, a certain optimism in the tone of the replies of some of the masters when questioned about punishment. They are scarcely willing to own that punishment is often deserved: all impress on the Commissioners how seldom they have to flog. It is consoling to find that they do still condescend to flog at all. There is no punishment more valuable for little boys than a sound flogging (we detest the barbarous cane, especially on the hand), publicly and solemnly

administered on a muscular and receptive quarter. But making every allowance for improved morals, we cannot help thinking, from what we see of undergraduates, that there must be more frequent occasions than masters seem disposed to allow, when the rod might be profitably used. Let it be remembered that every punishment earned and not inflicted falls surely some day or other on the boy's father, or on himself when come to man's estate—often, we fear, on both. We doubt, we say, whether a boy, who is idle, or vicious, or dis-obliging, or sulky, so surely catches it from masters or schoolfellows now-a-days, as he will do without fail from his compeers in the world of manly life. Even fagging, one of the most valuable parts of school life, is being so fined down that there will soon be scarcely a trace of it left. The personal services rendered by fags to their elders may sound ludicrous, but they are really a very good lesson in handy and independent habits. One is inclined to smile at hearing our great captain proclaim how he shaves himself and brushes his own clothes; but the smile passes away when he adds the excellent reason that 'he hates having a parcel of

idle lacqueys about him.' And when we find him throughout his wars, like Hannibal, making no distinction of night and day in toil, taking food and sleep in such measure, and at such hours, as business permits, seeing with his own eyes, and hearing with his own ears, we recognize the effects of good drilling at school. We should like to know for whom he fagged. We will be bound to say his master contributed a good deal to the march through the Peninsula. There is in the Report of the Commission a perfectly frightful account, given by a boy's father, of the system of fagging at Westminster. But it dwindles down wonderfully under the evidence of two Westminster boys afterwards, who had themselves passed through the whole ordeal, and not only survived it, but appeared quite lively and vigorous. One understands the whole business when the father tells us of his son,—

'He is not a wonder by any means, but he is the most conscientious worker, the most conscientious fellow that ever lived, . . . pretty certain to get a studentship at Christchurch, or a scholarship at Trinity. He could not have failed, he was so high up, and could do so well, and his conduct was so first-rate.'

No doubt, and we dare say he will lead the

Northern Circuit in five years, and be Lord Chancellor in five more ! Hard indeed that such a swan as this should live to be pecked at by a flock of Westminster geese ! Another angry sire appeared before the Commission, bringing with him the family doctor to speak to the dilapidated state of his son's health. This was a charge of bullying, rather than of excessive fagging. The M.R.C.S.E. tells us he was a 'sensitive boy.' Mr. Wolley, his Eton tutor, tells us that he knew from what he observed of the boy's character during his first school-time, that 'he was a boy likely to meet with annoyance from his schoolfellows at a public school.' We know what 'sensitive' euphemises in a doctor's mouth. Putting the two statements together, we strongly suspect that a few birchings would have done the boy a great deal of good, and that if he had not been petted and pitied at home there would have been no tale of woe to recount.* No question that bullying and excessive fagging

* It is sad to hear certainly that six months after he had left school he became sick at dinner, and was obliged to go to bed. How it came to pass is a 'very difficult question,' such as the witness thinks 'no medical man would take on himself to answer.' May a simple layman suggest he had eaten too much ?

are wrong, but that they are fraught with nothing but mischief to the sufferer is not so clear. At all events, if supervision on the part of masters is made so penetrative and thorough as to make either impossible, public schools will cease to be places where a boy may obtain a kind of anticipated experience of life. There could be few greater misfortunes befall the youth of England. It is a case where the few must give way to the many, and if a boy is really unable to bear the trials of a public school, he must be taught at home. But we undertake to say, that unless they are first spoilt at home, there will not be many such.

We have thus laid before our readers, in a very slight and cursory manner, some of the most important questions concerning schools which the Report of the Commissioners raises. One, and only one, remains, and we will then conclude this long paper. That is the deeply interesting inquiry—What becomes of the boys afterwards? The Commissioners have printed a table which shows that of the total number of boys who leave the nine schools, visited by them, in the course of a year, about one-third may be estimated to go to

Oxford or Cambridge. Of the rest, a very few—not more than about forty a year—enter the army. Of this small number, more than half spend some time with a private tutor between leaving school and going up for the first military examination. There is no one who will not read this statement with regret—regret both that so small a proportion of military men should have had the advantage of school-training—for it is more than probable that schools other than the nine here dealt with send still fewer of their boys into the army—and that of those few so large a part should have thrown away the advantages of the very best part of their school-days. For it is just in the last year or two at school that a boy learns to exchange obedience for command. In a school where a good tone prevails he gets roughly helped through this hard trial of good temper and forbearance. At school too a boy best learns that serenity under emergencies, that readiness of resource and quickness of device how to extricate himself and those about him from danger or difficulty, which are of all qualities most valuable on the march or in the field. No wonder that one reads in the story of

the Crimean war of troops left all night without food or covering, when they were commanded chiefly by men brought up at home and in forcing-houses for passing examinations, where they could never have been taught to use either head or hand on their own account. Mr. Hawtrey speaks of the great credit a boy got six weeks after leaving Eton for despatching six hundred men from Malta to the seat of war.

‘The wisdom and good sense of his management, evidenced in the comfort and good temper of the men, as the vessels got under weigh. But he had been captain of the boats at Eton.’

This sort of power is not learnt of crammers, and it is precisely for want of this sort of power that armies pine away and die not by the enemy’s sword.* It does not seem impossible that an order might be framed without injustice enforcing a certain period of school training as a preliminary to admission for examination for commissions. Only Heaven defend us from military schools!†

* It is well known that the Duke of Wellington always said his best officers came from Westminster, and every one has heard of his exclaiming one day, in the playing fields of Eton, ‘Here Waterloo was won.’ For a list of distinguished officers from Westminster, see *Report*, iii. pp. 409, 410.

† For one among many reasons why, see Mr. Hawtrey’s evidence, *Report*, ii. p. 161.

Nearly two-thirds then of the boys go into the ordinary occupations of active life, and, making all allowance for the defects and shortcomings the Report brings out, an impartial reader of it will hardly fail to conclude, that, generally speaking, they will be found in the ranks of such as are the salt of their generation. If parents who cannot afford to send their sons to live away from home inquire how they may obtain some share in these advantages, we do not presume to answer so difficult a question. It must be left for the reply of enlightened public opinion, when, as we hope and trust it soon will be, it is brought to bear on the subject in a reasonable spirit. But we may without impropriety contribute our own view, formed at least after much consideration and inquiry. It is this: That in towns where there is no foundation school already, and where there are inhabitants enough within reach to furnish from eighty to one hundred boys, every effort should be used to get good classical day schools set on foot, as much as possible after the model of the old foundations, only providing that the branches of knowledge especially useful in business life should

not be neglected. We would not comply with the modest request of the Shrewsbury town council, who, possessing 875*l.* a year, rather less than the year's profits of a prosperous grocer, to divide among the masters of their school, ask to have an education

‘Free of charge, or at a reduced rate of payment, provided for residents within the borough.’

And extended so as


‘To include not only a classical education, and one suited for scholars intended for the university or one of the learned professions, but also an education of a liberal character, adapted to and suitable to the requirements of the middle class.’

Tradesmen are rich enough now-a-days; let them pay. What is given for nothing, is nothing accounted of. The most that should be done in the direction pointed to by the worthy burgesses is to form a nucleus of needy and deserving boys in the manner we have already indicated. An education of this kind might be furnished, supposing the numbers to be well maintained, for 14*l.* or 15*l.* a year. The Report of the Commission for inquiring into the state of the smaller foundations and private schools must soon be before the world.

This will probably show how far the wants of persons likely to avail themselves of schools of this kind are at present met. We are inclined to think that the present deficiency will be found to be very great ; but with the encouraging qualification that there are a good many existing institutions, particularly among the more obscure foundation schools, which under prudent management are capable of being turned to good account.



UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

O much has been said of late both in Parliament and out of it concerning University Extension, as it is called, that we make no apology for bringing some views on the subject before our readers, most of whom, we apprehend, are likely to take interest in everything relating to our ancient Universities.

Let us first of all understand precisely what people who use the phrase 'University Extension' mean. In the mouths of some it is applied to the Universities regarded only as schools for clergy. They complain not only that the number of persons seeking admission into holy orders has diminished, but that of those admitted a smaller proportion

than formerly have received the benefits of a University education. They call on the Universities to investigate the reasons for this state of things, and to meet it, if possible, by arrangements calculated to attract candidates for orders to an academical career. Others, again, hold that if the Universities made the best of their opportunities, thousands and tens of thousands of young men intended for all sorts of professions and callings in life might be nourished in their bosoms. They triumphantly quote Huber, who tells us that—

‘A tolerably well authenticated account, attacked of late by undue scepticism, fixes the number of academicians at Oxford at 30,000 in the middle of the thirteenth century. . . . It is not extravagant, if Cambridge was not yet in great repute, to imagine 15,000 students *of all ages* at Oxford, and as many more attendants.’*

It may be fair matter for question whether a writer who tells his readers that ‘when all England was decidedly Protestant, as contrasted with

* Huber’s ‘English Universities,’ i. pp. 66-7, Newman’s translation. The worthy Professor’s successive computations remind us of a Scotch minister’s exposition of Samson’s feat of tying together the tails of 300 foxes. He began by supposing their tails to have been each forty feet long. At this astonishing proposition one of his congregation gave a loud whistle. He gradually reduced his estimate, under the influence of successive whistles, to ten feet, and there ended the matter by exclaiming, ‘Ye may whistle awa’ noo gin ye wull, Donald ; I’ll no bate ye

the great southern kingdoms, the northern part of England was pre-eminently Protestant as compared with the south,' is competent to write upon English subjects. But of this by-and-by. We will take the two questions in order, and first speak of University Extension with reference to the increase in numbers of the clergy of the Church of England.

I.

It cannot be denied that of late years there has not only been no increase in the number of clergy in proportion to the increase of population, but that the young men offering themselves to the bishops for ordination have been growing gradually fewer and fewer. In the five years ending with 1855, Cambridge sent up 1099 candidates for orders, Oxford 997, Dublin 190, Durham 127, while there were 521 literates, total 2934. In the five years ending with 1865, Cambridge sent 949, Oxford 783, Dublin 150, Durham 74, and there were 676 literates, total 2632. Of the year 1866 we have no account at hand. At the Trinity Sunday Ordinations of the present year there

appeared 110 candidates from Cambridge, 72 from Oxford, 18 from Dublin, literates 82, total 282. It is not likely then that the harvest of this year will be much more abundant than heretofore. It is clear also from the foregoing returns that at Cambridge, and still more at Oxford, there is a growing disinclination on the part of young men to present themselves. Yet the Universities never were so full. At Cambridge the number of freshmen matriculated in 1846 was 441, in 1866, 572; the greatest admission, we believe, ever known. Much as the question has been discussed without arriving at any decisive result, the reasons, if we are not mistaken, are not far to seek. The state of church patronage is such that when a young man takes orders, he must make up his mind, unless he has a friend to give him a church or money to buy one for himself, to spend his life either in celibacy or else poverty so sordid as to forbid him and his family all the ornaments and many of the necessities of life, including in very many cases even pure air and clean water. In the *Clergy List* for 1867, the account of the patronage of the churches of England and Wales occupies

a little over two hundred columns. Of these, churches belonging to the Crown and Lord Chancellor fill 18, to archbishops and bishops 36, to capitular bodies 18, to the Universities 12, to private patrons 130. Take out from this list those that fall to fellows of colleges, to ministerial, episcopal, decanal, or canonical sons, sons-in-law, cousins, and *nephotes* in general, kinsmen of private patrons, and, unhappily, clergy who have bought their own cures of souls,* and how many are left within the scope of young men who take orders

* The oath against Simony, required to be taken by all clergymen about to be instituted or licensed to any benefice or dignity, runs as follows:—

‘I, A. B., do swear that I have made no simoniacal payment, contract, or promise, directly or indirectly, by myself, or any other with my knowledge or consent, to any person or persons whatsoever, for or concerning the procuring and obtaining the — of — in the county of —; nor will at any time hereafter perform or satisfy any such kind of payment, contract, or promise, made by any other, without my knowledge or consent. So help me God.’

How a man who—or whose father or other near friend for him—buys an advowson, and presents himself to the church, or giving a large sum towards building a church, makes it a condition that he shall himself be the first incumbent, can take this oath with a quiet conscience, we cannot see. The light in which laymen view these deplorable bargains may be perceived from an expression used in our hearing by a parish clerk regarding the clergy of the district churches in the neighbourhood. By the death of the incumbent of the mother church, the surplice fees had become divisible among them, and they were quarrelling about the apportionment. ‘Well,’ said he, ‘you see, Sir, they’ve all bought their churches, and in course they want to make the most they can of ‘em.’ On the other hand we have known a bishop propose to give a cure of souls, a charge which one would have hoped would have been in a bishop’s eyes a gift of God not to be bought with money, to a clergyman, on condition of a contribution of 1000*l.* towards building a church and parsonage.

with no views before their eyes but the quiet and faithful discharge of their spiritual duties? We venture to say that under this state of things, and with the alternative indicated above set plainly before men's eyes, you will not, when you call on young men to come forward by hundreds, obtain a favourable response. Can it be expected? A zealous man might say, 'I am willing to work in the worst parts of London or Liverpool for five, ten, fifteen years,' if there were before him, we won't say the certainty, but the reasonable prospect of ever placing himself somewhat more favourably. But there is nothing of the sort. The most that, unless he has dignified or wealthy connexions, a man of ordinary power can fairly look for is a church in the poorest parts of the town in which the work of his youth has lain, or a very small country benefice. We assert that this is a condition in which few men do right to place themselves. At three-and-twenty years of age it is immoral for a man to declare for celibacy. It is his duty to say with Erasmus, 'Se nondum neque quid sit mundus scire, neque quid sit cælibatus neque quid sit ipse.' If on the other hand he

thinks he may marry, and by thrift be 'passing rich' on 100*l.* or 150*l.* a year, he must consider that he is not the ~~only~~ person to be consulted. Suppose he has the ~~good~~ fortune to get the sole charge of a rural parish, he will probably have a tight roof over ~~his~~ head and good air and water. But as regards the ~~wants~~ of daily life and the education of his ~~children~~, he will be a far poorer man than the humblest farmer in his parish. Will his wife be satisfied to live with none of the surroundings of a lady, to see her sons grow up clods, her daughters with none of the accomplishments proper to their sex, except the few that she can herself teach them? This is the fate of a married country curate with a family and no private means. In the vast wildernesses of poor habitations that grow up around our great cities, his case is much the same, with the addition of dirty air, dirty water, dirty home, and lucky if not dirty clothes and dirty food. Think of what it is to carry a delicately-nurtured woman to Stepney, to Bow Common, to Ratcliffe Highway, with an income so narrow as to leave not a sixpence to pay for a day's escape from the poisoned atmosphere of her home!

Now at present there are, we believe, about 21,000 clergy in England and Wales, of whom about 5000 are curates. Of these 5000 perhaps half may have private means or fair prospect of rising. The rest must necessarily be curates or very poor incumbents all their days. Suppose that by founding colleges for poor scholars, or more freely admitting literates, you increase the total number of the clergy, remember that *the whole addition goes to this pauperized class*. We maintain that to call for this is unreasonable, and that it is not right to ask young men to come forward to adopt a life of hopeless penury. Let the grandees who in sounding phrases press on young men the duty of self-abnegation and of zeal in the cause of the Church, touch this burden with one of their fingers. No doubt the soldier of Christ is called to endure hardness, but not consciously to take upon himself a load which he must of necessity prove unable to bear, or to put himself in a position which will break his spirit and unfit him for warfare. No apostle, no missionary ever began his work with such a prospect.* A young man taking orders

* The Church Missionary Society, we believe, in sending men out to the East, encourages them to marry, and endeavours to provide them,

may be fairly warned that he must be prepared to go whithersoever he is sent, that he must renounce all hope and desire of rising to eminence, that he may be called on to bid good-by to home and kindred, country and friends, to imperil life itself in the cause of Christ ; but if the rulers of the Church call on him to do all this without a reasonable provision to meet the demands of the body, they commit the fault of a general who marches off his army leaving the commissariat behind him. When a man is asked to encounter filth and starvation, he may well borrow from Hooker to reply, 'Inasmuch as righteous life presupposeth life ; inasmuch as to live virtuously it is impossible except we live ; therefore the first impediment which naturally we endeavour to remove is penury and want of things without which we cannot live.'

In speaking of this subject an argument is often

so long as they discharge their duties faithfully, with a decent maintenance, according to the number of their children and the prices of food and clothing in the districts in which they are placed. No man therefore is in affluence, no man in penury. A truly apostolic rule of life. And a blessing seems to have rested upon it, for notwithstanding a few errors and eccentricities, the missionaries have, on the whole, done wonderful good in India. They were, if we are not mistaken, the first

used, which, worthless as it is, commands, if one may judge by the frequency with which it is repeated, considerable attention. This is, that a young man being sure of at least 100*l.* a year as a clergyman, has as good a prospect as any other profession will secure him. A barrister, it is said, a military or naval officer, may spend his life and never earn more, if so much. True, but there is this difference. The less a clergyman earns, the harder he has to work, whereas in all other callings it is just the other way. Did any barrister that ever lived, however short a time he may have been at the Bar, however little he knew of law, ever spend a whole week on his clients business and only earn two guineas by it? But a clergyman grown grey in orders may toil from Sunday morning to Saturday night in the purlieus of St. Giles's in the Fields or St. George's in the East and earn less. Then too men have the choice of leaving other professions. A naval officer going on half-pay is, we believe, distinctly given to understand that, holy orders excepted, he may enter upon any other calling he thinks fit. But though the law may permit a clergyman to adopt a secular call-

ing, the solemn promises made at his ordination and the opinion of mankind are too decisively against it for many to avail themselves of this liberty. Again, while it is true that a clergyman is pretty certain of 100*l.* a year, or maybe a little more, let us see under what conditions he is to earn it. While he is young and single, especially if he has any adventitious advantages of appearance, voice, fluency, &c., it is pretty easy to get. But the case changes marvellously when he becomes middle-aged and uninteresting, especially if he be no longer without encumbrance. Then his brother parsons begin to inquire what children and what private means he has ; and if he must needs confess the unhappy truth that his income is *nil*, and his children many, all those sweet rural sole charges with pretty gardens, grassy paddocks, and small populations, are barred against him as fast as Windsor Castle. He must be content with any curacy he can get, and we need not say it will be one with few material advantages. Indeed, we know of no harder lot in life than that of a poor clergyman, who, in every way fit for his office, but destitute of any uncommon gifts of fortune or person, sees him-

self gradually driven from one bad curacy to another, his wife and children pining about him, and with no prospect of a settled home ; and we grieve to say it is a spectacle that may be seen very often.

What grounds then are there left for the expectation, that, supposing a college to be founded on such a scale as to admit poor students to the advantages of University education on easier terms than is at present possible, such students would, in general, or would in any large proportion, present themselves for holy orders ? We believe, that were it possible to establish such a college, which indeed we very much doubt, the students who frequented it would, like—or even more generally than—the members of other colleges, shrink from a line of life which, except to favourites of charity or fortune, promises a career of hardship and privation beyond what men can at the opening of life be fairly called upon to dedicate themselves to. Nor does this fully state the case. Suppose a man ready to encounter it. Would he by so doing be solely and simply devoting himself to the cause of Christ's church ? Not a bit of it. As far as he is himself concerned he may be doing his duty by

helping as far as in him lies to improve the material and spiritual condition of his flock. But if on the one hand this is good work, he is on the other neutralizing it by the support he is giving to a system it would be painful to call by its right name; a system which turns the inmost sanctuary of the Temple into a market; a system under which duties, which should be shared in common by clergy and laity, fall entirely on the clergy. There are hundreds of rural parishes owned by great lords or squires, who never enter a cottage in them. All the duties of the landlords fall on the clergy. Hundreds again, ay thousands of streets in towns belong to great men who don't even know them by name. In the terrible plague which fell on the east of London last year, how many ground landlords, how many owners of house property, helped the clergy in their house to house visitation? A system again which permits dignitaries and holders of great endowments to do little, and forces starvelings to do much. The frank impudence with which dignitaries will sometimes keep their incomes and manage to shift off their work would be amusing if it were not so

abominable. We know a case in which a clergyman was presented to a living in the gift of his diocesan. There were two parishes, covering together no very large acreage. But one was rural with few inhabitants, the other a little town. So the latter, though no part of it much exceeded a mile from his rectory house, he soon contrived to shuffle off his shoulders. It stands now in the Clergy List as a perpetual curacy with nearly three thousand inhabitants and 175*l.* income. The parish this self-denying and industrious man retains for his special care and guidance, contains between six and seven hundred inhabitants, with an income of at least 800*l.* a year, besides a most charming residence. This too although he holds great cathedral preferment. Did a case like this stand alone, it would be nothing to the purpose. But it is one specimen among many, and notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made of late years to reform abuses of this sort, we do not believe it possible to get rid of them without far more radical changes than have yet been attempted.

Were such changes effected with reasonable care and wisdom, we venture to think that the present

number of clergy might be found equal to the demands on them. Many burdens are thrown exclusively on their shoulders which ought to be at least shared by the laity. For, after all, what Christian duty is there which may not be discharged by laymen quite as well as clergy, except only public preaching and administering the sacraments of the Gospel? Laymen are quite as competent as clergy to give meat to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to take in strangers, to visit hospitals and gaols. How far they do this in any fair proportion to their means, as compared with the clergy, may be estimated from their comparative neglect of the children about them. In a letter to Lord Granville by Sir John Kay Shuttleworth may be seen a comparison of contributions by clergy and landowners of certain parishes to the schools of those parishes. About 400 landowners, receiving above 600,000*l.* a year from their estates, averaged 5*l.* each. The clergy averaged 10*l.* A comparison of the percentage paid to schools by London rentals and clerical incomes would probably prove much more astounding. If this is a Christian nation, no need is so urgent as the redress of these

ruinous inequalities.* Further, something may be retrenched from the professional labours of the clergy. Take preaching. Will any one assert that it can be desirable for one man to compose, or one church to resound with, some 120 sermons in a year? Even Mr. Simeon, no undervaluer of preaching, used to say, 'He who preaches twice prates once.'† If the bishops would relax somewhat to the clergy in this particular, and spend the same pains they have done in enforcing it in pointing out to the laity of their dioceses the unreasonableness of the demand, not only would much unfruitful labour be spared, but far fewer clergy be required for the discharge of ministerial duties. For it is nothing but the two sermons every

* If any one would see the full measure of misery and ruin inflicted by the carelessness of landowners and farmers on boys and girls in rural parishes, let him ascertain by his own inquiries, or procure any authentic account of, the results of the system of Agricultural Gangs.

† We may remark in passing, that the prevalent complaints about sermons would soon be silenced if people who did not want to hear the preacher were allowed to go out of church after prayers without giving offence. A clergyman might well feel that A. or B. entertained feelings of respect and regard for him without caring to hear his sermon. It is a matter in which every one may claim perfect freedom. We do not think the hardship of the prevailing practice was ever fully brought home to our own mind until, in looking over a set of poll papers, we reflected that any one of the writers might possibly within a twelvemonth be the curate of our own parish church, and we might be forced to sit and hear him for half an hour, perhaps, alas! three quarters, Sunday after Sunday.

Sunday that forces many incumbents of small parishes to keep curates. The great preaching place of a diocese ought to be its cathedral. May a simple clerk dare even to look up to episcopal heights and hint that it may not prove impossible to devise means whereby we may do without additional sees? He at least may be permitted to express an earnest hope that none will be created until a thorough reform of the existing system has been fairly tried. At present the first thing a man appointed to a bishopric has to do is to spend about 5000*l.* in getting into his see. Sometimes we believe he has to lay out much more before he receives any part of his episcopal revenue. Consequently the pernicious practice of requiring wealth as a condition of advancement to the episcopal bench is rapidly becoming the rule. The bishops of Lord Palmerston's making were almost without exception members of rich or noble families. If this is to be the case, bishoprics will soon be for sale just like any other cure of souls. Nor can anything be more anomalous than the social position of a bishop and his family. No change could be happier for both than one which would reduce My

Lord to Mr. Bishop, like Mr. Dean or Mr. Archdeacon, turn his palace into a glebehouse, and force him to reside in it the year round like an ordinary clergyman on his benefice. If it be urged, *ubi episcopus, ibi ecclesia*, we reply that all experience is against the application of this maxim to justify the diocesan of a remote see being away from it half the year or more in London or elsewhere. We might point to more than one living bishop whose constant presence in his cathedral city is fruitful of the happiest influence over both the clergy and laity under his charge. But then it is at the cost of comparative neglect of parliamentary duties—a neglect, so long as they belong to his position, troublesome to a conscientious man. For it does not satisfy him to argue that, now Convocation is no longer a mere shadow, he can be spared from the House of Lords. So long as he is a member of the legislature, it is his duty to be present at its deliberations. No little value is to be attributed to the episcopal house lying under the shadow of the cathedral. It makes the bishop more readily accessible to the clergy. His city is generally central, always a railway station of

some importance. The companies usually encourage people to visit it by cheap and convenient trains ; whereas a great castle or park out in the country involves to most of the diocese a journey by comparison long and costly, no trifling consideration in the prevailing poverty of the clergy. A consideration of more importance is that a clergyman going on spiritual business to one of these imposing mansions, where everything savours more of the powerful temporal lord than the brother in Christ, feels the unfitness of the place for the errand on which he is bound. Judges do not dispense justice, lawyers do not receive their clients in their ordinary private houses. It is a part of human nature to adapt time, place, and even garb, to the duties which have to be transacted. Most of all men a bishop requires for the sake of himself, quite as much as those who seek his spiritual advice and assistance, to avail himself of every means that will enable him to forget and cast away his individual self, in order that he may sit in the seat and speak with the voice of Christ. In his own study, with everything around to remind him of the common affairs of daily life, it is

hard to rid himself of human passions, prejudices, infirmities. These may in great measure be excluded from a place set apart and consecrated to divine uses. In like manner, the more those who visit him are helped to see in him not one whom they have perhaps known as a weak and erring man, but a spiritual ruler and guide, the better will they be disposed to open their minds to him and receive and obey his advice. It is weak, no doubt, to be thus subject to impressions from without, but it is a weakness from which few or none of us are free, and the higher the interests concerned the more necessary it seems according to all human experience to humour it. Judges, of all men least fanciful or visionary, have diligently surrounded themselves with externals indicative of their office and dignity. Bishops may not unwisely follow their example. A bishop living under his cathedral might easily have a room in the church in which he could sit regularly at stated times, and make it the duty of one of his chaplains to arrange a paper of business for the day. Bishops do at present usually fix days for clergy, churchwardens, and others to visit them. But the interviews are

held in their own libraries, and are regarded as so far of a private character that the bishop's private affairs or engagements are reason good for putting them off. We well remember one morning some years ago going by appointment to see a bishop. We were ushered into the dining-room, and found there a number of persons, clerical and lay, it being the day on which he was supposed to be at home for the despatch of business. After waiting nearly an hour, a chaplain poked his head in at the door and announced that 'the bishop had gone to a wedding, and he didn't know what time his lordship would be back; he thought any who did not come by appointment had better go.' The faces of the laymen at this announcement would have been worth gold to poor Mr. Leech. They were not quite so used as the clergy to the dances the rulers of the Church sometimes lead their subjects. But fancy the commotion there would be at the Bar if such an excuse were given at eleven o'clock in the day for the Court of Queen's Bench being shut! Yet this took place in the house of one of the best and most laborious prelates we ever knew. We could tell another story of

the same kind, were it not too long, but the upshot of it was that a poor curate living in the worst part of an overgrown town made two long journeys at the cost of a sensible percentage on his year's income, lost a week's salary, and half of the only taste he had had of country air for a year or was likely to have for a long time to come, all because the bishop had told him to come on a particular day for his license to a new curacy and straightway forgot all about it. We are quite certain that no man would more sincerely regret such an accident as this than the prelate himself. Nor was it so much his fault as his misfortune. In the multiplicity of business that falls on the shoulders of a bishop of a populous see, and the chaotic confusion into which it gets for want of permanent organization, each successive bishop managing it as is right in his own eyes, nothing but a well-ordered system, strictly carried out in despite of senseless cries of redtapism, can prevent such occurrences. And there is no greater help to this than a public office, separate and removed from a man's home, with officials to hold him in check, much as the Bar does the judges. Again, if it is of no consequence

whether the bishop be or be not a frequent worshipper and preacher in his own cathedral, what can it signify whether a see have a cathedral attached to it or no? As for the general business of the Church, we apprehend it could be discussed just as well at Exeter, Durham, or Canterbury, as in London, if not better, with the addition of the impulse given to all church objects by the bishops themselves actively pushing them in all parts of the country. Altogether, we sincerely believe that an episcopate of commoners would involve no loss, but bring a great gain to clergy, laity, their own families, and to the universal Church of Christ.

We must not however pursue this argument further. On the whole, we venture to maintain, that with a bishop to every two counties, and 21,000 clergy (to say nothing of dissenting ministers), fully one in 500 of the whole male population of England and Wales, and with work and pay better distributed and economised, the duties of the Christian ministry may be discharged without increase of numbers. We doubt even whether, if there is to be any admixture at all in this body of persons who have not received a Uni-

versity education, they had better not be such as have got together what little they know in the usual helter-skelter way of common schools and ordinary intercourse with the world, than by going to colleges set on foot expressly as nurseries for clergy. These exclusive places are bad schools of life. Altogether we can find no valid reason for founding new colleges in the old Universities for the distinct purpose of adding numbers to the clerical profession.

II.

We proceed to speak of University Extension in the broader application of the phrase.* Those who so use it advocate the removal of the privileges enjoyed—or, as they say, usurped—by colleges and private halls, and would fain have any student who chooses come and live within the precincts of

* It may be as well to state here that the writer of this paper is not, nor ever has been, a Fellow of a College. He is a Master of Arts, earning a living by taking pupils, and discharging such other duties in the University as chance to be allotted to him,—one, therefore, of precisely that class of persons who could lose nothing, and might gain a great deal, by the abolition of the privileges enjoyed by the colleges. It is fair to add, that having returned to Cambridge now more than six years, he has never known an instance of a Master of Arts being discouraged from living there, and taking an active share in University business, merely on the ground of not being a Fellow of a College.

the Universities, attend professors' lectures, and enjoy all the other advantages of an academical education, without becoming a member of any college or hall. We presume, though we do not find it stated, that such students would not be independent of all authority, but would be subject to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors. Speaking for Cambridge only—we have no means of forming any opinion about Oxford—we think we may say that this proposition would meet with very little resistance from the resident body, provided they could be satisfied on two points—first, that there was a sufficient demand on the part of the country to make it worth while to run the risk of so great a change; second, that it would be good for the students themselves. In dealing with these two questions let us begin by appealing to experience.

Mr. Ewart, in his speech in the House of Commons on June 5th, is reported in the *Times* to have stated that 'the college institutions gradually overshadowed the University; or, like parasitical plants, undermined the walls which they appeared to support.' He further states that Universities in ancient times numbered their students by thou-

sands and tens of thousands, quoting Bologna, Paris, and Oxford as examples. We venture to doubt whether either of these statements is well-grounded.

First with regard to numbers—15,000, 20,000, 25,000 students would occupy a good many houses. Where are the traces in and about Oxford of its having ever been a city at least five or six times as large as it is at present, as it must have been if these tales are true? Where are the records to show that this was the case? Surely ‘300 colleges and halls’ cannot have been so utterly destroyed that not a brick or a stone should be left to show where they stood, nor a shred of documentary evidence should remain to prove that they ever existed. We believe that a very slight examination of the matter by a person acquainted with Oxford would show that Huber’s statements (from whom Mr. Ewart adopts his account) are as ungrounded about that University, as it is easy to prove them to have been concerning Cambridge.

Huber, speaking of the thirteenth century and the former half of the fourteenth, says :—

‘Later times cannot produce a concentration of men eminent in all the learning and science of the age, such as

Oxford and Cambridge then poured forth, mightily influencing the intellectual development of all Western Christendom. . . In consequence of this surpassing celebrity, Oxford became the focus of a prodigious congregation of students, to which nothing afterwards bore comparison. The same was probably true of Cambridge in relative proportion.'—Vol. i. p. 66.

Mr. Ewart, therefore, in taking Huber for an authority, refers us to a man who charges the Universities with decay in fertility ever since his favourite epoch. Leaving Oxford to defend herself, let us examine how far this is true of Cambridge. The former part of the charge is difficult to deal with because it is a mere assertion, dependent in a great degree on the estimate he who makes or accepts it chooses to form of the names cited in support of it. We believe however that when the time is come for the great men the last hundred years have produced at Cambridge to be fairly appraised, their names will be found fit to vie with those of any previous century. Go back to a period far enough removed to admit of mentioning names without fear of offence, and you will find within fewer years than Huber takes the annals of Cambridge adorned with the names of Taylor, Milton, Whichcote, Cudworth, Barrow, Newton,

and Bentley. Search the annals of any University in the world, and it will be hard, we think, to find seven names within any equal compass of time deserving to be placed alongside of these. These comparisons, however, are, at the best, invidious and unsatisfactory. It is enough to say that, as a matter of fact, no century has passed since Cambridge existed as a University without producing an array of poets, philosophers, scholars, divines, and lawyers, large enough to redeem her from all fear of being charged with barrenness. Indeed it is very remarkable that in almost every generation for some centuries past there have been at least one or two Cambridge men who, more than any of their contemporaries, have achieved a salutary and permanent influence over the national mind. It is not easy to assign the reason of this : perhaps it may be the fact that Cambridge is singularly little swayed by the fashions or opinions of the world without. She appears always, even in the very worst times, to have succeeded in retaining a small knot of studious men, whose lectures or conversations have kept independent thought alive. As long as a University does this she cannot be

charged with failing in her duty. For granting it is her duty to shed the light of learning around her, it is infinitely more her duty to trim the lamp itself. This can only be done by men who are students, and converse with students all their lives. That, notwithstanding the restless activity and ceaseless changes of the past twenty years, such men are still to be found among us, is a reason for deep thankfulness. It is probably due, in the main, to their influence that theological strife is nearly unknown at Cambridge, and that no party in the Church has succeeded in obtaining a decisive preponderance within her borders. On the other hand, to show that theological thought flourishes there in full life and vigour, it is enough to point to such fruits as 'Ecce Homo,' and Bishop Thirlwall's Charges.

Let us pass to the question of numbers—much easier to handle. Huber says elsewhere (App., note 14), that of 200 authors in England from the beginning of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century, Oxford produced 140, Cambridge 30. As then he gives us no idea of what proportion he means when he speaks of 'relative proportion,' but merely talks of indefinite thousands, let

us take that which this comparison suggests, and set the number of students at Cambridge at one-fifth of those he proposes for Oxford. This will scarcely be deemed extravagantly high. Therefore, when Oxford had '15,000 students *of all ages*, and as many more attendants,' Cambridge had 3000 students, and a like number of people to attend on them. We remark in passing that when 'several students dwelt in one room, and were not careful for luxury,' one attendant to each student seems a good many. One gyp now-a-days waits on six or seven undergraduates. However, that is Huber's business, not ours. But where were these 3000 students put? In the 'Annals of Cambridge,' by the late Mr. Cooper, on whose judgment and accuracy the utmost reliance may be placed, we read under the year 1278 :—

'The inquisitions of the Jurors summoned on this occasion present an elaborate survey of the town, the names of the proprietors of property, their tenures, titles, and rents, being set forth with minute accuracy.

'Mention is made of 535 messuages, 76 shops and stalls, 5 granges, and 6 granaries. Hence it may be inferred that the population did not, at this period, exceed 4000 persons.'

—Vol. i. p. 58.

After then the wives and children of the burgesses

were accommodated with lodging, where were the 3000 students, or any other 'relative proportion' to 15,000 to be put? 3000 students! why they must have slept ten in a bed!

The truth is that persons unused to take exact account of large bodies of people are apt to reckon numbers very loosely. We might remind the reader of De Quincey's old Welsh woman, who told him of a great assembly of Methodists near Carnarvon, and in reply to his inquiry as to their numerical amount, said, 'That perhaps there would be a matter of four millions!' But to come a little nearer to authorities of the kind on which Huber relied, Stowe, speaking of the plague of 1349, says that 50,000 people died of it in Norwich alone. This, as Hume, who quotes the statement, very naturally remarks, is utterly incredible. An authenticated document, such as we find under the year 1340, in Mr. Cooper's book, is worth more than all the random estimates of chroniclers. We there learn that the inhabitants of Cambridge whose movables were assessed for the purpose of taxation, in that year amounted to no more than 432. In this computation religious houses are included.

This settles the question with regard to Cambridge, and although it may be true that Oxford was more populous, nothing but sure documentary evidence will convince us that Huber's estimates, or Sir William Hamilton's shadowy 'tens of thousands' (for he prudently abstains from any definite calculation) have the slenderest foundation in fact at Oxford, Paris, or anywhere else.*

But although we give no credit to these exaggerated guesses at falsehood, we do not deny that students in those days were independent of colleges. For when Huber talks of 300 colleges or halls he is dreaming. They never had any existence except in the addle brains of antiquaries. And this is the last time we will mention his name, for he really is of no authority whatsoever. But is it historically true that the colleges, 'like parasitical plants, gradually undermined the walls they appeared to support?' So far as can be ascertained from accessible records, we believe that as far as Cam-

* Sir W. Hamilton does, however, set the scholars of Cambridge towards the end of the fourteenth century at 'certainly above 5000.' These exaggerations depend chiefly on two passages in Wood (i. 80 and i. 149), in the latter of which he says he can name 300 halls. Had he done so, his statement might have been more convincing. See Fuller's amusing criticism of the stories about 'Our Aunt Oxford and her 200 Halls.'

bridge is concerned, this is by no means borne out by the history of the case. As we still rely on the authority of Mr. Cooper, it may be well to remark that his views in politics would perhaps have led him, had he been disposed to be partial, to place his facts, if possible, in a light inimical to the present constitution of the University. For ourselves, however, we believe him to have been to the best of his power strictly true and just in his use of the antiquarian learning by the light of which he drew up his chronicle. Let us hear what he styles the only account of the origin of the University of Cambridge entitled to the slightest credence. He tells us, quoting De Blois, that in the year 1110, Joffrid, Abbot of Croyland—

‘Sent to his manor of Cotenham, near Cambridge, Sir Gislebert, his fellow monk and Professor of Divinity, with three other monks, who had followed him into England, and they being well instructed in philosophical theorems, and other primitive sciences, and coming daily to Cambridge, in a certain hired public barn, openly taught their sciences, and, in the course of a short time, had collected a great number of scholars. But in the second year of their coming, the number of scholars was so greatly increased, as well from the whole country as from the town, that not even the greatest house, barn, nor any church, was sufficient for their reception. Whereupon they separated into various places, and followed the form of study of Orleans. Early in

the morning Brother Odo, a grammarian and satirical poet, at that time famous, read grammar according to the doctrine of Priscian and Remigius to the boys and younger sort assigned to him. At the hour of prime, Terricus, a most acute sophister, taught the logic of Aristotle, according to Porphyry and the comments of Averroës, to the elder. At the hour of tierce, Brother William lectured on Tully's Rhetoric and Quintilian's Flores,' &c.

The next occurrence on record is that in 1209 the University received a great accession of students, who left Oxford in consequence of disputes with the townsmen there. A very suggestive entry, for in it will be found the germ of the true history of the paramount influence of colleges. Wherever students were permitted to live in independence, quarrels were sure to arise between them and the citizens, so serious as to be intolerable. Under the year 1229, we read that in consequence of the disturbed state of the University of Paris, the king invited the Parisian students to come over into England, and it is supposed that many of them settled in Cambridge. With them, as might be expected, came like disquiet. In 1231 arose great disputes. On the one side were disorderly persons claiming the character of scholars in order more safely to pursue their malpractices; on the other,

townsmen demanding exorbitant sums for the rent of the hostels in which the scholars lived. What with one and the other, there appears to have arisen a very pretty quarrel, hardly pacified by the exercise after the most vigorous fashion of the royal authority. From this time forth we read of constant affrays between the scholars and townsmen, of a far graver sort than the modern 'town and gown rows' dear to ambitious freshmen, being in fact nothing less than pitched battles with the ordinary accompaniments of wounds and death. Nor is it to be supposed that all the fault lay on one side. If scholars did violence to townsmen's bodies, the latter retaliated on their enemies purses. In 1267 occurs a special ordinance from the king, 'that wine should be sold equally and indifferently as well to clerks as laymen.' The grievance of bad wine at a high price doubtless went straight to the academical heart. The University seems indeed to have been hard pushed on all sides, for in 1276, we find a dispute arising between it and the Archdeacon of Ely, apparently a very cantankerous official, about jurisdiction, and settled by the authority of the bishop entirely in favour of the

former. Altogether then there was reason on all hands why those who wished well to the University should desire to put students under stricter discipline, for the sake of their protection as well as restraint. Accordingly by the end of the thirteenth century we find one college and more than thirty hostels, each governed by a Master of Arts as principal, already established, each of which sheltered many youths. The movement then which had begun so early as 1231 in favour of preventing scholars from living in independence within the limits of the University,* had rapidly gone on and prospered, and it continued to advance so rapidly that in 1429 the Commons, in a petition to the king, speak of the heads of colleges, and principals of halls, or houses, as, together with the scholars under their charge, constituting the whole University. How this can be called 'parasitical growth' we fail to see. How great the disorders

* In 1231 the king ordered the sheriff of Cambridgeshire to proclaim that no young student who was not *under the tuition of some master* should remain in the University, but should depart the town within fifteen days. At the same time the king commanded that the rent of all hostels in which scholars resided should be taxed or assessed by two masters and two good and lawful men of the town. This in fact put them very much into the position colleges hold with regard to the University. "

were that arose from free concourse of young men may be estimated from a passage quoted by Sir William Hamilton from the work of Cardinal de Vitry, who wrote early in the thirteenth century. Speaking of Paris, he says—

‘Tum autem amplius in clero quam in alio populo dissoluta (*sc.* Lutetia) tanquam capra scabiosa et ovis morbida, pernicioso exemplo multos hospites suos undique ad eam affluentes corrumpebat habitatores suos devorans et in profundum demergens, simplicem fornicationem nullum peccatum reputabat. Meretrices publicæ, ubique per vicos et plateas civitatis, passim ad lupanaria sua clericos transeuntes quasi per violentiam pertrahebant. Quod si forte ingredi recusarent, confestim eos “Sodomitas” post ipsos conclamantes dicebant. In una autem et eadem domo scholæ erant superius, prostibula inferius. In parte superiori magistri legebant, in inferiori meretrices officia turpitudinis exercebant.’

We give the whole of this horrible description that people may know what risks they run in sending young men to live in Universities without being under the charge of some competent individual. It is in vain to say that times are changed for the better. The divorce court shows that among the very classes from which such students would be likely to come there prevails at this moment a depravity scarcely exceeded in history. And any one may see for himself that the shock-

ing sights the streets of Cambridge present at night are very little due to the presence in the town of undergraduates living under the restraints of a college. Profligacy in the present day seems more rife in the commercial and shopkeeping than the professional classes from which our pupils are chiefly drawn. In the Long Vacation, when colleges are more than half empty, and no undergraduate is allowed to stay up whose character will not bear the strictest scrutiny, some of the streets of Cambridge after sunset swarm with prostitutes, many of them mere children. And the state of the great marts of trade, Liverpool in particular, is, we have been credibly informed, no less shocking. It is not easy to arrive at any certain conclusion in this matter, but we are led by such measure of inquiry as is possible to make, to believe that vice is less prevalent among undergraduates than it was a generation back. The appeals in behalf of penitentiaries, &c., which are brought now-a-days under everyone's notice, as well as sermons in school and college chapels, have shown them the cruelty of vice. Generosity therefore, a powerful motive, thank God, with them, is called in to the help of

morality. Let us turn, however, from the experience of the past to that of our own day.

The University of London is constituted pretty much on the model indicated by our reformers. There are, we believe, no officers answering to our tutors or lecturers. There is no pretence whatever of discipline. Anybody may come, pass an examination, and receive a degree. We entertain no prejudice whatever against the University of London. We remember, twenty years ago, expressing to two medical graduates of that University our strong belief that she was destined to be eminently useful to the country. It may be said of her now that, considering she is less than half a century old, she has achieved, if not all, at least much of what her most sanguine friends could have expected her to accomplish in that brief space. But where are the tens of thousands a free University is to attract to herself? Of matriculated undergraduates—some of whom having had their names many years on the boards, will never, we apprehend, proceed to a degree—she numbers under 3000; of graduates, somewhat above that number. We fear her modern wisdom is not altogether proof

modern wisdom is not altogether proof against the lighter vanities of the middle ages ; for an interesting page in her kalendar discloses a splendour of scarlet cloth and gold-coloured silk robes, which leaves Cambridge doctors far behind in magnificence. However, all honour be to the University of London. She has done, and is doing, a work in many ways excellent. Still, we do not see where we are to look for that commanding superiority in her system over ours that should induce us to desert our old ways and enter upon a path full of danger. For be it remembered that small towns like Oxford and Cambridge are infinitely more dangerous than London to that large class of young men who desire to do right, but have not strength to say 'No.' In London a man may dwell after his own will, and no one take the trouble to find him out : here all the world—that is, all *his* world—knows how he spends every minute of his time and every penny of his money. In practice, however, very few young men indeed are left to their own devices even under the wing of the University of London ; for a very large number of undergraduates reside in different colleges scattered

throughout the country. It appears, then, that parents do not at present see the enormous advantages life 'independent of colleges' offers to young men. Turn to Germany, where student life is freest. Are either professors or parents satisfied with the system? We much doubt it. We have before us the particulars of a conversation which took place only a few weeks since between an eminent professor of one of the best, if not the very best, of the German Universities, and a distinguished member of the University of Cambridge. Neither party would be suspected of the smallest leaning to Toryism. The German professor expressed the strongest wish to *Anglicise* their Universities. He complained bitterly of the lax discipline which permitted men to do as they pleased in every point. Lectures even of the most celebrated scholars were thinly attended. Sunday's debauchery made the audience of Monday, in particular, so scanty, that sometimes not one in five of the students appeared. To the inquiry how certificates were obtained, the answer was, 'Oh, they are given as a matter of course.' On the whole, as far as the professors of classical literature were con-

cerned, he said there was deep and general dissatisfaction.* If we do not go so far as to say that the total restraint of French *lycées* is better than this, few, we think, will dissent from the view we remember to have heard expressed by our own college tutor on the day the freshmen of our year first met in the lecture room. Giving us a few words of advice, and explaining to us the rules of discipline to which we were required to submit, he remarked that the object of those who laid down these rules was to keep the mean between perfect restraint and perfect liberty, to supply, as it were, an easy descent from the confinement of school to the freedom of manly life, and he pointed out that after all they imposed no severer check on conduct than a moderately self-denying man would probably lay down for himself.

If it be said that all this might be done by the Vice-Chancellor through the agency of the proctors, we venture to reply that no one will maintain this who knows anything of a University. These offi-

* Of the views of the professors of natural science on this subject, our informant did not happen to have made any inquiries. The conversation in question was casual, as his visit to the University was not for the purpose of investigating such matters.

cers have already plenty to do. Besides, they are only in office for a year or two, and know scarcely anything of the habits and tastes of an individual undergraduate. If a man got into a scrape, and there was no college tutor to appeal to, the only thing they could do would be to force him to quit the University. Here without any fault on their part would begin a course of monstrous injustice such as would soon raise an outcry throughout the country. If it be answered that more proctors must be appointed, then they must be paid, and as this could only be done by a tax on independent students, and that—if proctors are to take the place of college tutors—a pretty heavy tax, we don't see where the gain would be of living in independence of colleges. Indeed there opens upon us here a question too large to enter upon fully on this occasion, but which is a most serious one for the education of the country. We refer to the supply of persons to carry on the work of the Universities. At this moment, exclusive of heads of colleges and professors, there are at Cambridge less than 250 masters of arts in residence. Even of these a very considerable number are incum-

bents of churches in the town, withdrawn in a great measure from academical work, or else men aged or infirm, who like living in a place where there are pleasant walks and good libraries. Looking down the electoral roll, it is really surprising to see how few names there are of men who are not known either to be out of harness or to have as much on hand as they can do. The old generation of fellows of colleges who lived here because they were fed and lodged for nothing has so utterly passed away as to leave scarcely a representative. The *Times* says the demand would create the supply. We doubt that very much. It is not every one who has the patience to teach. One eminent reformer records of himself that, attempting to lecture a roomful of undergraduates, he soon gave it up in despair, calling them 'a set of gibbering maniacs.' As he very frankly adds, 'they didn't like it.' We can easily believe him. The demand on the teaching power of the country has become through the multiplication of great schools so large as to leave, we shrewdly suspect, very little to spare. The abundance of candidates who come forward whenever a head or under

mastership in a school is advertised as vacant by no means proves the existence of an equal body of competent teachers. Besides, if men are to live at Cambridge to teach, they must be paid, and then what becomes of the argument of economy? Found new professorships, it will be replied, we suppose. Professors must lecture a great deal more than they do now, if they are to enable men to do without tutors, and there have been known professors, ay, even professors of divinity, who contrived to turn their offices into total sinecures. Nothing indeed is easier, if they be so minded. In cases where they have well fulfilled their duties, it has for the most part been as students rather than teachers. We could at this moment produce two or three instances of men who, if left quiet in their studies, will be reckoned among the lights of mankind. Force them to spend their hours in lecture-rooms, and they become at once useless. The only plan would be to have a body of recognized lieutenants, responsible to some proper authority. The question recurs—How are they to be paid? It is of no use to tax colleges much more. The rewards a place like Cambridge offers

are so few, and incomes of individuals on so small a scale, that it is impossible to reduce them much farther. Would you insist on fellows of colleges residing? You can't make them teach any the more for that, to say nothing of the loss of the great advantage which accrues to the nation from giving a number of active young men a fair start in life. No doubt some of them misuse it; but it by no means follows that a better way of employing college revenues can be at once devised. No human system that we ever heard of was so framed as to leave no room for waste, and a good deal too. The whole scheme in fact is surrounded with losses and disadvantages, and to crown all, it would assuredly increase expense. For colleges, be it remembered, supply rooms far cheaper than lodging-housekeepers can afford. Even at Trinity a poor pensioner may get rooms for about 8*l.* or 9*l.* a-year. If he is a scholar or a sizar, he gets them for nothing. In fact it is quite an error to suppose that rooms are a source of large profit to colleges. The cost of ordinary repairs of the domestic buildings amounted at Trinity in ten years of no unusual expense to over 3000*l.* more than the

total receipt from rent of rooms.* Now already lodgings at Cambridge are completely occupied by undergraduates. In the month of October college tutors are at their wits end to find rooms for the freshmen. Under these circumstances it is difficult enough already to keep the demands of lodging-housekeepers within bounds. Indeed they say with truth that rents have so risen of late years that it does not pay them to let lodgings on the terms permitted by the lodging-house Syndicate, and well-to-do tradesmen have in many instances given it up. If young men came here who had to drive their own bargains, what quarter would they be likely to get? Besides, as new houses must be built for their reception at a distance from the quarter of the town most favourable for trade, is it likely that lodgings could be reasonably afforded cheaper than those of the old inconvenient sort over shops in busy streets? Of course whether it would or would not answer to add largely to the lodging accommodation of the place can only be matter of

* On the subject of University expenses, we refer the reader to a very useful paper on the subject in the 'Student's Guide.' Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co. 1866.

opinion, but at present prices of land, materials, and labour a tolerably decisive opinion may be readily arrived at. Then there is their daily food to be paid for. We do not believe that many English youths will be content with a diet of porridge and milk. So much the worse perhaps, but the fact remains the same. If they are to have meat twice, or even once, a day, it will be impossible to do it much cheaper than it is done by colleges. Not long ago a small college found that it was losing heavily by the arrangements of the kitchen, and we can answer for it that in none is there an exorbitant profit. Even at Trinity, where the cook is supposed to make a fabulous income, his profit is in fact not at all more than a reasonable return on the very large capital he is obliged to employ. The truth is that English youths are, except in very few cases, the reverse of thrifty.

Lastly, setting aside all these arguments, and assuming for a moment that the scheme is practicable, we repeat the query, where is the demand? We say without hesitation that there is none sufficiently certain to encourage speculators to build lodging-houses. Our numbers were never greater

than they are now, but how liable they are to ruinous fluctuations may be estimated from the fact that although in October 1866 there were 572 freshmen, in October 1857, partly owing to the war, partly to the opening of Woolwich, there were only 318. In the great war of the beginning of this century the army and navy so completely absorbed the increase of young men of gentle birth, that in the year 1800 Trinity College admitted only 1 nobleman, 2 fellow-commoners, 17 pensioners, and 1 sizar. The local examinations have probably led in some measure to the apparently decisive increase that has lately taken place, while on the other hand they appear to show conclusively that it is desirable to put a limit to it. Twelve hundred and ninety-eight boys, none exceeding eighteen years of age, were examined last December. Of these rather less than a thousand got certificates. If we put the number of those to whom, means and circumstances considered, it would not have been a ruinous waste of time to spend three years more on a general education, at a hundred, we are doubtful whether we do not put it too high. It is not worth arguing

about. Everybody knows that few young men can afford to continue their education till one or two and twenty, unless their abilities are such as to offer a seasonable prospect of success in the higher professions. Even after their degree, special preparation must remain to be done. For although a University may lay a good foundation for the exercise of the learned professions, and such trades as require scientific knowledge, there is much she must leave to be acquired by actual practice. Here then we leave the discussion. We don't believe, as we said at starting, that the scheme would encounter at Cambridge any serious opposition, provided the Senate could be assured that good order could be maintained, expenses reduced, and finally that the change was demanded by the country. We are much mistaken if it does not turn out very difficult to prove any one of these three propositions. It may be urged, Why not try the experiment? We answer, because even if it falls to the ground, it cannot be put on trial without doing serious mischief. These changes are exceedingly trying to the University. They discourage young men of promise from staying

here ; they perplex and weary those who have already cast in their lot with her. No doubt great changes of any kind can rarely be accomplished without much harass and suffering to individuals ; and this must be encountered, if need be. But surely it is the part of wisdom not to inflict these annoyances without first ascertaining that there is an adequate benefit in view. Again, at least some few young men would be led to come up and try their chance. What is that chance worth? Just nothing. For they are sure to be youths of very moderate abilities, because there are scholarships and exhibitions attached to colleges enough, and more than enough, for all who can show the slightest promise of literary or scientific success. True it is that man doth not live by bread alone, but true it also is that earning bread must go before anything else. Before a young man attempts to add any other given thing to his earning of bread, he ought to be pretty certain it will do him good. Unless his abilities make him competent to acquire and turn to good account those higher kinds of knowledge which it is the proper business of a University to impart, he will simply lose his time

and trouble in striving after them. Hence, as a general rule, one could scarcely commit an unkind act than induce a young man of slender abilities and needy circumstances to prolong his general education beyond sixteen or seventeen years of age. He is much better employed on some humble calling suited to his talents. Therefore every such man goes away having gained very little to set against his loss of two or three years. There are too many young men of this calibre in college already. Will any one in his senses seek to augment the number? But some of our reformers seem to think it the duty of a University to furnish brains.

On one point we are desirous of not being misunderstood. We do not for a moment deny the right of Parliament to inquire into the administration and disposal of all endowments. But we do protest emphatically against the capricious exercise of this right upon cases here and there. Why should the revenues of bishoprics, cathedrals, and colleges be overhauled while City companies and Inns of Court are left alone? Why again does not Earl Russell, weeping over the diminishing in-

fluence of the House of Lords, rather try to invigorate it by inquiring what reforms are demanded within that House itself? Is it no grievance to the nation that a great institution like a dukedom, with vast powers, privileges, and revenues, can be held by nobody knows who, living nobody knows where? Is it no grievance to the nation that peers have by degrees divested themselves of all obligation to discharge any one public duty, while they have to the best of their power maintained and hardened every legal device for accumulating and retaining vast tracts of land in single hands? When these great appanages were first granted, they carried with them heavy and costly burdens. Does any man imagine that the Percies, Howards, and Staffords of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could, if they would, have stood aloof from the councils of the king, or refused to support—or attack—him in person as well as with men and money? But now the ownership of hundreds of thousands of acres of land is actually made an excuse, on the ground of multiplicity and urgency of private affairs, for refusing to take any share in the councils of the nation. Some of the richest

peers scornfully reject to take their seats in the House of Lords. The plain truth is, barbarism has of late years made great inroads into the peerage. Peers have long ceased to cultivate letters. The few of them who can be called well-educated men studiously avoid gathering literary society about them. Few of them buy pictures or statuary: the present revival of the taste for architecture owes them slender encouragement; but when the soft pleasures of the Opera are in peril, peers with a charming patriotism rush to the rescue. The highest praise aimed at by a large part of the peerage is to find money for their grooms and bailiffs to breed horses that shall win the Derby, or cattle that shall be the fattest at Islington. No one can go over their great country houses without being struck with the general antiquity of the collections they contain of pictures, statuary, and other objects of art. Hardly any appear to have been made by late or present possessors. New men are the buyers of such treasures now-a-days. Were it not for the munificence of some, such as the late Dukes of Wellington and Northumberland. the great

public services of others, particularly many of those who continue to attend and adorn the debates of the House of Lords, and the good private character of many, the peerage would soon be in danger of hasty and ill-considered changes. But Earl Russell may depend upon it that no question is more pressing than how to recal the bulk of the members of that House to a sense of public duty, or else to reorganise it in a way consistent with its traditions and privileges, and that to attempt to blind people's eyes to the need of this by laying rash hands on corporations equally illustrious, ancient, and venerable is in truth far more revolutionary than to face a difficult task boldly. Again, when Earl Russell talks of 'large revenues,' be it remembered that these are only the aggregate of a number of separate foundations, none of them excessively rich. Nor is the aggregate itself anything very startling. The annual value of the lands seized on pretence of *the king's service*, from three great abbeys and a convent, and now attached to the Dukedom of Bedford, may be estimated to exceed the whole revenues of all the colleges of either University, possibly even of both together. Yet

so far is it from being sufficient to maintain the family of Russell as well as the dignity of its chief, that the public offices abound with persons of the name and kin of that House. Indeed it is creditable to the Universities that by thrifty management of small means they succeed in maintaining such large masses of public buildings and collections in a condition of usefulness and even splendour. But the truth is the possession of revenues, great or small, has little or nothing to do with the true question at issue. This is, whether the Universities are or are not *seats of learning*. So soon as they can be shown not to be so, reform them, if you can, and if not, raze them to the ground.*

* We have taken leave in the revisal of this paper to advert to the debate which took place in the House of Lords after it was written, because Earl Russell rested his proposal to deal with the Universities expressly on their possession of 'large revenues,' and it seemed desirable to protest against the assumption that this in itself had anything to do with the matter. We have not done the same with the Report of the Select Committee on Mr. Ewart's bill, also published since the paper was written, because, if we may be pardoned for saying so, it is not very suggestive of such changes as are really desirable.

Few out of the whole 4,500 questions, and as many answers, touch the main point. How signally many of them miss it may be inferred from the following specimens :

1939. Are the college revenues now directly applied to instruction, in your opinion?—No, it is a very remarkable fact that, speaking particularly of my own college, St. John's College, I believe not above 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year, out of the whole income of about 30,000*l.* a year, is applied directly to the payment of instruction.

While then we fully acknowledge the right of Parliament to interfere with the disposition of all endow-

1940. What becomes of the funds which you think ought to be applied to instruction; to what are they devoted?—The actual money that is paid to persons who are lecturing in the college is derived entirely, with that slight exception which I have mentioned, from the fees paid by the undergraduates.

1941. How is all the rest applied?—The rest of the college revenue is applied to keeping up the necessary expenses of the college; and the surplus, whatever it may be, is usually distributed among the fellows. Of course you are aware that the scholarships are paid out of the college revenues.

On question 1939, we ask, are the bulk of undergraduates objects of charity, to the diminution of whose payments the income of the college ought to be applied? Question 1940 is not replied to by the witness's answer, but we suppose that the reply given to 1941 may serve for it. Where then does the misapplication of revenues lie? We maintain that there is none, unless it can be shown that the fellows and scholars of St. John's College are so idle and so stupid as not to produce a fair number of men who devote themselves either to the quiet pursuit of learning and science, or to those departments of active professional life which demand profound knowledge but bring little worldly profit. The contrary is conspicuously and honourably notorious of that College.

Again—

701. We may assume that the University does not turn out annually more than 500 educated men?—Precisely so.

702. Looking at the present interest of the public on a subject of this kind, do you think that that is a sufficient number of men for the amount of money that is locked up in the college revenues; do you not think it very desirable that the number should be increased?—Yes, I do, certainly.

No doubt the 'present interest of the public' in this subject is very great, and will rapidly and greatly increase when 'this subject' is simply an inquiry how they may get their sons taught for little or nothing; but if these queries fairly represent the point on which the settlement of the question is likely to turn, we predict that soon not only will 'laws and learning die,' but along with them 'our old nobility.' For the public having once tasted the sweets of getting things for nothing, won't stop with colleges.

Note also the equally signal extravagance of the following:—

262. Have you any statement to make respecting the University and college revenues?—I have.

263. Will you have the goodness to make it?—(The witness, in reply, puts the value of the Oxford scholarships at 80,000*l.*, of

ments of corporations and dignities known to the law, we cannot help remarking, that the Universities may fairly complain that Mr. Ewart's motion was brought before the House of Commons at all. Not twenty years—a very short period in the life of a University—have passed over our heads since a full inquiry was made into 'the Discipline, Studies, and Revenues' of both Cambridge and Oxford. We challenge any man to peruse the Report of the Commissioners, and not be forced

fellowships and headships of the colleges, together with the estimated value of the college buildings, at 140,000*l.* a year. Then he proceeds): The value of the ecclesiastical benefices attached to the colleges is estimated at at least 200,000*l.* per annum. The gross total, therefore, of the Oxford University and college endowments is probably not less than 500,000*l.* a year. What do we do with these great endowments?—We educate about 1,400 undergraduates, chiefly of the upper class, members of the Established Church.

Can anything exceed the absurdity of reckoning the incomes of country livings as part of the endowment of Oxford for educational purposes? A country living, except to a man of private fortune, is as a general rule one of the poorest livelihoods a man can get. Fellows of colleges are growing yearly more reluctant to take them. One might just as reasonably count all the Civil List or the Consolidated Fund as a part of the Queen's private income, as regard the incomes of livings in the gift of colleges as a part of the University revenues. In short, we must say that a great deal of the evidence given before the Select Committee seems to have been admirable for destroying what good we have got, but marvellously weak for replacing it by anything better. Much of it comes to this—taking away what somebody has to give it to somebody else who would like to have it—which is the true spirit of revolution. It is not in this spirit that learning and education will be advanced. Evidence of this character is the more to be regretted because it obscures and obstructs those sober views of reform which are to be found in the replies of Professor Burrows and several of the Cambridge witnesses.

to acknowledge that Cambridge with a rare exception here and there furnished them frankly and freely with all the evidence in her power, and showed a disposition to adopt such changes as promised to be real improvements. Acts of Parliament were framed, empowering such alterations to be made. How these will turn out, remains still to be proved. But no one will deny that the wisdom of some of them, especially of the relaxation of the rule of celibacy to fellows of colleges, is exceedingly problematical. The day of trial will come when married fellows begin to have grown-up sons and daughters. It is too soon yet to be introducing fresh changes. The question in its present crude condition was fitter for a debating society than a legislative assembly. It will not be ripe for legislation until it has been thoroughly discussed in both Universities in the spirit which the Rector of Lincoln College has brought to the task in his useful work on 'Academical Organisation, with especial reference to Oxford,' as well as time given for experience of the working of the new system. Premature action, that is to say action before it is clearly made out what faults

require amendment and what remedies it is desirable to apply, is sure to turn out as cramping and retrogressive as the Act of 1854. For no error can be greater than to suppose that this Act was chiefly directed towards reforms. In some respects it simply gave power to legalise customary violations of statutes. Among other hasty and ill-considered enactments it confined the office of Vice-Chancellor to Heads of Houses. The consequence of this restriction is that at Cambridge at this moment, owing to the age, occupations, or incapacity, of most of the only persons eligible, it is often difficult to know where to look for a Vice-Chancellor. And when we do get a good one—and the University has, take one year with another, been wonderfully fortunate—he is so overwhelmed with routine business that he has little leisure to take the lead in proposing or helping forward salutary changes. In fact it is scarcely too much to say that no sound measures of reform will be carried into effect at Cambridge, and we believe we may say the same of Oxford, until the present limit is removed from the choice of Vice-Chancellors and the duties and appendages of the office thoroughly

and liberally revised. Another most serious effect of the Act in question has been to close the gates of colleges more fast than ever against poor men. Formerly a young man of good character and industry could obtain a good deal of assistance at many colleges, if his circumstances demanded it, although he might not be likely to distinguish himself in either tripos. Now all scholarships, exhibitions, and rewards of that kind are given to what is called desert, that is to say literary ability, irrespective of personal character except in so far as a reading man is likely from the nature of the case to be a steady man. The effect of this is pernicious in three ways. First, it deprives many deserving young men, who although they may not possess brilliant abilities are yet competent to serve the state well in the higher professions, of all assistance in obtaining the advantages of a University Education. Secondly, it introduces a gambling spirit into school teaching. Fathers and schoolmasters talk over the line boys had better take in their studies, and agree to spare no expense upon it in the hope of getting the money back through the attainment of an open

scholarship. Thirdly, the ordinary pollman is led to regard his measure of knowledge as of no value except to entitle him to put B.A. after his name. How can he come to any other conclusion, if from the outset of his career he is given to understand by his superiors that however industrious, however steady and excellent he may be—and we appeal to the experience of every college tutor to say whether these praises are not due to many pollmen—he deserves no help or encouragement from his college? High classmen may be assured that their own attainments have been very ill used if they have not learnt that the great end of life is to turn to account the abilities, many or few, God has given; and that no duty is more imperative on them than to encourage by words of kindness and respect those who having but one talent are striving to make it profitable. But ‘God made him, and therefore let him pass for a man,’ is too often the tone adopted in speaking of candidates for the ordinary degree. We should gladly see college tutors entrusted with a yearly sum of money in proportion to the revenues of their house for distribution among deserving and needy men. There

is no fear of such a trust being abused. But it is time to close with a final grumble at the debate.

We demur above all to the threatening tone adopted by some of the speakers. We are often now-a-days reminded that if such and such changes are not adopted, a day may be near when the Universities will be used with less tenderness. Tenderness ! what does that mean ? We are men, and don't want dandling or caressing. Let any man show, not by vague declamation, but by the report of a competent commission, that the Universities are not doing their duty to the country as well as they are able, and then use force and welcome ! We say without fear of contradiction that for many years past, in fact ever since Bentley's time, Cambridge has diligently done all she can in the way of improvement. The truth is that, as has been shown in so small a matter as the arrangement of the Examinations for the Ordinary Degree, it is a thing much easier to talk of than to accomplish. If however the debate was to be, some knowledge of the question might at least have been expected. Now we must be pardoned if we say that throughout it we cannot find a

single good suggestion. As far as Cambridge at any rate is concerned, it was distinguished by an heroic ignorance which could scarcely be beaten. One would think that dynamics, botany, geology, were unknown here. Anybody who possessing the slightest tincture of mathematics looks through the papers set in the Mathematical Tripos, must see that nothing is more cultivated here than precisely that kind of scientific knowledge of forces in which practical engineers are too often deficient; and we should have thought that the aged Woodwardian Professor's geological excursions with his pupils, made delightful by an ever-flowing cheerfulness, must have been famous throughout England. One would think too that University lecture rooms were close barred against strangers. Why they are as open as churches. A large portion of the crowded audiences that listened the last two terms to the invaluable teachings of the Knightbridge Professor were ladies. Now even the omnipotence of Parliament cannot excuse honourable gentlemen airing their ignorance at the cost of the public time. Sad to say, in point of ignorance, the debate is too fair a

specimen of the most reckless session on record. Representative institutions are indeed on their trial. Lord Stanley's extravagant laudations of the House of Commons quieted men's minds for a time ; but it is impossible to deny that what with bribery, what with insincerity, what with motives of self-interest or pique in legislation, there has been aroused a feeling of deep discontent throughout the nation. However the great measure of this session may turn out, no man who can remember 1846 will regard its passage through Parliament without shame and sorrow. Then a great party renounced its previous convictions in deference to the statesmanlike arguments of as true and wise a patriot as the world has ever seen. This year a greater sacrifice has been made in obedience to a cunning trick of sleight-of-hand. The finishing touch was put to the bitter contrast, when the heir of that illustrious name by a speech full of such jesting as is 'not convenient' roused the House not to indignation, but to—loud laughter.



ATHLETICS.



It would be difficult to point to any part of daily life in which the last half-century has brought about a greater change than in outdoor exercises.

Fifty or sixty years ago cricket was rare, boating scarcely known beyond the Thames or the Tyne, and as for what are called *par excellence* athletic exercises, they seem to have been pretty nearly unheard of, except in the Highlands of Scotland. If we may assume that an old book called 'Life in London' (dramatized, we believe, by Moncrief under the name of 'Tom and Jerry'), which we remember to have been lent to us in very early days by an elderly clergyman—who must have had

a strange notion of what it was good for a child of seven years old to read,—presents anything like a faithful picture of the manners of the young men of the day, we learn that their amusements were conducted chiefly at night, after drinking much wine, and consisted for the most part in knocking down *Charlies*, wrenching knockers from doors, and the like elegant exercises. The principal sport by daylight and in the open air was boxing. This, however, was rarely practised by the Corinthians, or bucks, as they were called, themselves, but left to the wretches who sold their blood for the amusement of these gentlemen. Incidentally it may have given a few of them a little exercise in driving down to the lone spot on the border of two counties, where the fight of the day came off. We know not if *Bell's Life* existed in those days. The only repository in which we have been able to search for that paper is the University Library ; but, with a strange want of appreciation of the importance of sport, the authorities have neglected to file it. We apprehend, however, it must have had little to chronicle beyond dog and cock fights, racing, four-in-hand driving, boxing and pigeon matches, with

perhaps an account of a bull-baiting now and then from a Staffordshire correspondent. The social manners of the time suited these amusements. A series of caricatures circulated in Cambridge towards the end of the last century, relating to a quarrel between Dr. Farmer, master of Emmanuel College, and Mr. Musgrave, a tailor in the town, are inconceivably, indescribably coarse. Oaths prefaced every sentence in conversation. The Prince of Wales and the notorious Colonel Berkeley (afterwards Earl Fitzhardinge) were conspicuous for the grotesque extravagance of their swearing. They perhaps were no ordinary blackguards even in that day. But a person so far removed from carelessness or vulgarity as the late Duke of Wellington, recognizing at Doncaster an old acquaintance by his voice, somewhere about 1820, is represented as exclaiming, 'I'll be d——d if that isn't Jack Armytage.' Inquiring what his friend, a squire in one of the Midland counties, had been doing for the last twenty-five or thirty years, he is informed that he had driven the Northampton mail *every night* when at home, and he 'dared say he had enjoyed life as well as his Grace.' The prevalence of drunken-

ness may be estimated by reading any of the novels or police reports of the day. Even so late as 1839, Mr. Dickens makes Mrs. Nickleby, being at the theatre, remark that Sir Mulberry Hawk and Lord Frederick Verisopht are 'a trifle unsteady on their legs,' and therefore sagaciously conclude that 'they had taken dinner.' They presently assure her of the fact by informing her that they had been 'toasting her lovely daughter,' which announcement puts the worthy lady in a flutter of delight. Any octogenarian could probably tell plenty of stories such as the following. A fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, now dead, told us that he well remembered meeting Coleridge the day after the Craven Scholarship had been adjudged to Samuel Butler of St. John's, and asking him 'how he bore the news last night.' 'Why,' said he, 'I should have felt it very much, but I was *dead drunk* at the time, so I didn't know it till this morning.' The father of the writer of this paper chanced to walk with him over the fields to Hampstead one Sunday afternoon a few years ago, and remarked that he had gone precisely the same walk on a Sunday afternoon just fifty-five years

before. He had never seen it since, and was amazed at the contrast. Then he scarcely walked a hundred yards without seeing a human being lying drunk under a hedge, whereas in our whole walk we had not met one drunken man or woman. But the best picture we know of the abominable effect the pranks of the Prince of Wales and his companions of White's or the Four-in-hand Club had on the manners of the day, is to be found in an entertaining book called 'Mornings at Bow Street,' written by J. Wight, reporter to the *Morning Herald*, and illustrated by George Cruikshank. The book is noteworthy on another account, as it seems more than probable that it suggested at least the form of 'Sketches by Boz.' But to return to our athletics.

Although it is probable that manly sports were not much cultivated by our grandfathers, strong men were not altogether wanting. We doubt whether Captain Fraser, Mr. Elliot, Mr. James, or any other adept at putting the weight or throwing the hammer could surpass an exploit performed by an undergraduate of Bene't College, as it was then called, about the year 1807. He took up a stone (14 lb.) weight from a fruit stall, just opposite

the Rose Inn (now the Rose Crescent), and standing on the pavement, with his back towards Caius College, threw it across the road and over the great gates of the inn into the yard. The gates were high enough for a loaded coach to pass underneath.* But it is not surprising that young men did not much care to take hard exercise, when we are told that in the year 1804, Hankin, the barber of Bene't College, used to come into college directly after breakfast every morning to dress the men's hair. He began with the freshmen and worked up to the senior fellow in residence, whose head was dismissed just in time to go into hall to dinner—one—we are not sure whether it was not twelve, o'clock. Think of throwing the hammer or attempting a high jump with one's head all plaster and curls. They had only just got free of pigtails. The very man—himself a freshman in that year—who told us this anecdote, had carefully cultivated a pigtail, concealing it behind his neckcloth, in the foregoing year, and was disgusted on coming up to

* This gentleman was one of a family of twelve children, of whom all the men were alike remarkable for strength and prowess in every manly sport. As the whole twelve were living when their average age had reached over seventy years, it is clear that athletics do not always shorten life.

college to find they had just gone out of fashion ; so he had to have it cut off. We well remember the figure of the old barber, one of the last of an extinct generation of college servants, his snuffy black suit, frilled shirt a little soiled, breeches with strings—seldom tied—at the knees, his back bending with a perennial bow, his talk of the ‘dress of the ‘air now in vogue, sir,’ and his white head nodding as he operated on his customer, chattering the while. He remembered everybody and everything in the college for many a long year past, and knew little and cared less for anything beyond it. It would not be easy to say what has brought the change about. Partly, perhaps, it is due to the boat races which have been yearly rowed now for nearly thirty years between the undergraduates of the two Universities ; partly, perhaps, to the example of the schools, which, following in the wake if we are not mistaken of University College, London, have made gymnastic exercises almost a part of their school routine.* But, however that

* We regret to observe in the prospectuses of some girls schools, exercises of this kind introduced under the name of *calisthenics*. They are utterly unfit for the female frame. Indeed we are inclined to doubt whether the exercises taught by *professors of gymnastics*, as they delight

may be, the fact is patent that a love of outdoor sports and exercises has grown up and a degree of importance come to be attached to them, which sixty years since would have been thought almost frenzied. Besides cricket, fives, boating, and rifle shooting, we have races in running from four miles down to one hundred yards, walking, hurdle leaping, high jumps, pole jumps, long jumps, hammer throwing, weight putting, in fact every conceivable trial of thews and sinews, except—which is rather odd—wrestling. Boxing, though not seen in public, is not forgotten, and is not altogether without its uses. In a disturbance which occurred between gown and town a few months ago, for which it is only fair to say the town were solely to blame, the mere news of the approach of a formidable ‘heavy weight’ of —— College literally cleared the street of the roughs, and enabled the undergraduates to get quietly back to their colleges. We believe and gladly acknowledge that these exercises have contributed a good deal towards the im-

to be called, are desirable even for boys. We have heard of ruptures and other serious injuries arising from them. Besides, they give a stiff rather than an easy carriage. After all, whether for health or carriage, there is nothing for either boys or girls like dancing and games.

provement of manners which makes conduct such as we have sketched above now unheard of, and we may say impossible ; for men who meet each other in mimic strife must above all things keep, as the phrase goes, a civil tongue in their heads. Otherwise it would very quickly become real. Besides, the course of training requisite for athletic sports, their public and open-air character, and indeed everything incidental to them, helps a man even more than some higher departments of education to attain that thorough mastery of self which best enables him to keep guard over his tongue. In short, these sports are capable of being made a main element in teaching a youth to fulfil his baptismal vow by keeping his body in temperance, soberness, and chastity. It is far from our purpose then to make an attack upon athletics. On the contrary, we look upon them as most desirable for that very large class of young men who, having no special taste for literary studies, yet do not wish to waste their time.* We think Dr. Greenhill

* Ἄμα τῇ τε διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονεῖν οὐ δεῖ· τουναντίον γὰρ ἑκάτερος ἀπεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε τῶν πόνων, ἐμποδίζων ὁ μὲν τοῦ σώματος πόνος τὴν διάνοιαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτης τὸ σῶμα.—*Aristot. Polit.*, viii. 4, 9.

states the general case very fairly, though he has only medicine in view, when he says at the end of his paper on Gymnastics in the 'Dictionary of Antiquities,' that 'on an attentive perusal of what we find on this subject in the classical authors, the reader can hardly fail of being convinced that the ancients esteemed gymnastics too highly, just as the moderns too much neglect them; and that in this, as in many other matters both in medicine and philosophy, truth lies between the two extremes.' It is in a friendly spirit therefore that we proceed to point out what we conceive to be evils in the present conduct of these sports—evils so great that we feel convinced, unless something is done to clear them away, there will shortly be a powerful reaction. Indeed, one of the most successful athletes at present in the University acknowledged to us lately that he felt sure, unless something was done, there would soon be a great outcry from fathers.* The evils we remark are three:—first, gambling; second, injury to health; third, folly of teachers and parents.

* This prophecy has, we regret to see, already begun to be fulfilled.

The first of these no one will defend. The only question that can arise upon it is of fact. Very well. We say then—and we defy contradiction—that the whole system of athletic contests is one of money, either in coin or in the shape of cups and medals; that there is heavy betting on every trial; and that it is well known that many young men lose sums so serious as to embarrass them for a long time, if not ruin them altogether. With regard to the prizes, it may be said with some truth that cups and medals, though possessing an intrinsic value, rarely do so to the winner; that he regards and uses them merely as ornaments for his sideboard. Although we believe this view of the case must be received with some considerable qualification—although we think an undergraduate friend of ours, who remarked to us the other day that ‘a good many of these cups will find their way back to the smith,’ was not far wrong; yet, assuming it for the moment to be true, we avow that with the Persian the old historian tells us of, we reserve all admiration for such as strive not for gold but for excellence, and are disposed to think that while gold befits the barbarian, the olive crown and the hymn

of victory might well content civilized men.* And we confess that it was with some regret that we read at the close of the report of the first meeting of the Amateur Athletic Club, held at Beaufort House, Walham Green, on Friday, March 23rd, 1866,—‘The prizes were a cup for the first, and a medal for the second man, for each event.’

The report opens with the expression of a hope that the newly formed ‘Amateur Club will ere long attain the same eminence and importance as the Marylebone Club, and communicate the same high tone and encouragement to athletics among the gentlemen of England as the M.C.C. does to cricket.’

We sincerely hope so too ; but in order to do so let them imitate the example of that most respectable and useful association in giving no prizes of any intrinsic value. We do not profess to be much acquainted with sporting affairs, but we think we are not mistaken in saying that no amateur ever receives any reward from the Marylebone Club of

* These cups are often very costly. One offered as the prize at a rowing match in London a few weeks since was of the nominal value of *three hundred and fifty* pounds. Few men in the middle ranks of life would care to exhibit such a thing as this on their sideboard.

greater money value than a bat or a ball. Professional players of course get more than this, but their rewards may be fairly looked upon in the light of wages. Moreover, besides the bad taste and flat barbarism of prizes in bullion, we are inclined to think that they tend to encourage the spirit of gambling. They bring in the thought and desire of profit. At all events, as far as an outsider can learn, there is less money won and lost on the whole, and the aggregate is made up of very much smaller sums, on the issues of cricket matches than on any other 'events.' It is of course extremely difficult for any one not concerned in the matter to arrive at the true state of such an evil as the one in question; but we fear it would be difficult to overestimate the mischief that betting on boat races and athletic sports is at this moment doing among young men. The existence of it requires no proof. Take up any sporting paper almost any week or day in the year, and you will read some such remark as this:—'The Oxonians were defeated on the odd event, for which 6 to 4 was laid against them.' It is, we fear, too true that there is a spirit of gambling prevalent through-

out the country, and that there is nothing on which men do not bet. As an example of the extravagances to which this spirit runs, we may mention that soon after the death of the late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, three gentlemen were named at Doncaster as his possible successors, and odds freely laid on their respective chances. Some speculators, we have been told, ventured to offer 10 to 1 that no one of the three would be chosen. If taken in large sums, they must have been hit hard. It may therefore be objected that betting is one of the evils incident to the time to which athletics do not specially contribute, and that our efforts had therefore better be applied to the vice in general than attempt to cure it in this particular instance. We may reply to this objection, that young men are likely to lay out their money chiefly on the results of the sports belonging to their age, and that if therefore a stop can be put to it in them, it will be something like killing the evil in the bud. That it is possible to discourage betting is proved by what has occurred in cricket. Thirty or forty years ago a set of blacklegs very nearly ruined cricket by the gambling they contrived to

introduce into it. Large sums were laid on the results of matches. Much unfairness crept in, and matches were even known to be sold. In short, Lord's Ground was becoming very nearly as corrupt as Parliament itself. Greatly to their credit, the leaders of the cricketing world set their faces dead against the evil. The result was that they succeeded in almost completely putting it down, and we believe that cricket is now freer from the trading speculations of betting men than any other description of sport. We heartily wish that the chief promoters of athletics may take a lesson from this precedent. They may rely upon it that betting is as sure in the long run to bring in unfairness as bribery to corrupt the briber, and therefore to make their favourite amusements alike mischievous and unpopular.

We believe, moreover, that people at a distance very little imagine the *amounts* that change hands on these occasions. We were credibly informed last spring that a young man belonging to a college in one of the Universities 'stood to lose' *three thousand five hundred* pounds had the boat of a particular college been at the head of the river at

the end of the season. It is possible—though our informant had every means of knowing the truth, and no motive whatever for exaggeration—that this enormous sum may have been overstated, and we can scarcely suppose that it ever would have been paid. We know too that the event on which it depended was improbable. Yet even supposing it to be an exaggeration—though we repeat there is not the slightest reason to think it is—it shows which way the wind blows. What would the little circles at country homes, who think shilling whist an extravagance, say to this? Another youth a year or two ago suddenly paid all his debts at the beginning of June. All his acquaintance placed this most unexpected piece of honesty to the credit of a successful book on the boat races, and the amount of his winnings was set by them at five or six hundred pounds. Last March we were told by an intimate friend and companion of a young man in one of the Government offices, that had Cambridge won in the University boat race, his friend would have lost so much money as to be *irrecoverably ruined, and must have left the country*. We must add that the contests between the Univer-

sities in boating and some other sports are fast becoming a public nuisance in other respects besides betting. We do not say the crews are themselves to blame for this. In fact we believe that in general the actual combatants have rather less to do with the gambling or any other of the concomitant evils than many of the lookers on.* But we appeal to them, and still more to those elder men who, having distinguished themselves in early days, and, *jam rude donati*, yet continue to take interest in the sports of their youth, and whose opinion and advice is deservedly respected by the rising generation, to consider whether any step on their part, such as the adoption of more stringent rules, or removal of the scene of action, may amend things. Gambling, we need not say, is discouraged, like other vices, by the University authorities. Some may think it might be done

* Two ladies of our acquaintance chanced to be driving through Hammersmith one afternoon. As they drew near the Suspension Bridge they saw a crowd of men apparently much excited. It proved that a boat race of some kind was going forward, and the boats passed underneath the bridge just before they drove over it. We suppose the event must have been settled there and then, as one of them, relating it to us afterwards, expressed her amazement at 'the quantity of gold that was flying from hand to hand.' She spoke, too, of the fearful eagerness and greed depicted in the men's faces. 'They looked,' she said, 'like devils.'

with a little more vigour and decision, but we greatly doubt whether it is a matter in which the exercise of authority is likely to be of much avail. Example is worth much more. We must rely chiefly on the good sense of young men themselves, and early care of parents. Authorities had much better not interfere at all unless they can do it with more wisdom than the rulers of a certain Government office, who grant a holiday on the Derby day to any clerk who applies for it, but with this condition, that *he must promise to go to Epsom*. Why not at once call upon him to undertake to touch pitch and not be defiled? We have never seen the Derby, but if Mr. Frith's picture be a truthful representation of what goes on there, we say it is an abominable orgy and a shame to a Christian land. To put the matter on the lowest ground, we do think that, as taxpayers, we have a right to complain that men of no more sense than this displays should be placed at the head of a great public department. We suppose that such idiotic regulations as this are due to the sporting element in the legislature. We do not scruple to say that the cautery cannot be too soon or too

sharply applied to this element. Is the perishing of mere names however illustrious to be weighed for a moment against the demoralisation which the great lords of the turf are spreading on all sides, and the lasting injury inflicted on large tracts of country by spendthrift possessors? Cannot the House of Lords by a court of honour or some device of that kind, cut off members proved to be unworthy? When a man's profligate and *niddering* courses have made life to him no better than 'a sick epicure's dream,' he is not fit to be counted among rulers. But we have said enough of this matter — enough, we hope, to convince even those who do not with ourselves look upon the smallest wager as the introduction of an evil, of which one can no more foresee the end than of the letting out of water, that there is some thing which requires amendment. Let us pass to the next topic, the effects of athletics on health.

Medical men may possibly regard it as a piece of presumption for a layman to enter upon this subject. Nothing would be farther from our wish, if they would only do it for us. But no medical

man of eminence seems to think it worth his while to instruct the youth of his age and country how to preserve their health and strength under trying muscular exertions. We do not think, therefore, that we can be blamed for trying to indicate, from a layman's point of view, the matters in which skilful direction is most needed. To begin with, we have a right to assume that the condition of body produced by training for athletic exercises is dangerous to health, for Hippocrates expressly tells us so.* Perhaps some medical men may think they have got beyond Hippocrates. We might quote as apposite to the case a remark, we think, of Fielding's somewhere, 'that he had often heard people call Aristotle a fool, but he commonly found they were such as had never read him.' We apprehend, however, the wiser part of the profession will not make light of the authority of the old Greek physician,—certainly no member of the 'Sydenham Society' will do so, for Sydenham assuredly owned Hippocrates for his master.†

* 'Ἐν τοῖσι γυμναστικοῖσι αἱ ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐεξίαί σφαιραῖ· οὐ γὰρ δύνανται ἀτρεμέειν.—*Hippocr. Aph.* 3.

† See the interesting 'Life of Hippocrates,' contributed by Dr. Greenhill to the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.' We may

Now Hippocrates must have enjoyed unsurpassable opportunities of observation, and a very cursory inspection of his works will show that he knew well how to use his eyes. On the other hand Aristotle tells us that gymnastics ought to tend to health and strength. Who will teach us then to handle this edge-tool, so dangerous to play with, so profitable if well used? Need there is of some advice in the matter. We imagine that the age, say from eighteen to two-and-twenty, when these exercises are most practised, is about the most ticklish in human life. Is it not then that a man's frame is just developing and consolidating itself into ripe manhood? Is not that just the time when, to quote Aristotle again, exercises

remark that Dr. Greenhill speaks of the medical practice of Hippocrates as 'cautious and feeble; so much so that he was in after times reproached with letting his patients die by doing nothing to keep them alive.' We think we shall not be wrong in stating that the tendency of the changes in medical practice which have taken place in the interval—twenty years—since these words were written, have been all in the direction of Hippocrates' method. Few mediciners nowadays would adopt the style of practice of an old physician of Cambridge, who always said to every patient who came to consult him, 'Well, I think you'd better be blooded!' or of another, who recommended 'a pot of senna tea to be kept regularly on the nursery hob.' May the earth lie heavy on him! We bitterly remember the cruel agonies he caused us in our childish days, agonies which made us lie prone on our stomach, writhing round and round like a cockchafer on a pin! So hard in those days was the fate of the unlucky child whose parents had faith in the doctor.

should be especially guided with a view to learning moderation in bodily exertions? But how far our young men are from observing moderation in their sports any one may see for himself who will go to the river side, or on any ground where manly sports—cricket excepted—are going forward. We ourselves once saw the coxswain of an eight-oar taken out of the boat at the end of a race, perfectly insensible. Not very long ago, watching a foot-race on Fenner's ground, we saw one of the rival runners fall fainting on the grass, a short distance before the end of the race. In almost any account of an athletic contest you may read such remarks as these, which we take from sporting papers lying before us :—

‘Mr. —— was very much distressed after the race.’

‘Mr. —— was very much exhausted, and fell immediately after passing the post, but quickly recovered himself, and joined his friends at a dinner somewhat later in the evening.’

In boat races the excitement and exertion is such that we have heard men say that, in the heat of the struggle, they can neither see nor hear,

while their hearts beat like the clapper of a mill. It is said indeed, we know not with what measure of truth, that heart diseases are exceedingly frequent in after life among men who have been distinguished in their youth on the river or the racing ground. We have even been told, though we cannot vouch for the accuracy of the relater of the anecdote, that of the crew of a boat which was at the head of the river at Cambridge about twenty years ago there are at this moment but two who are not either dead or entirely broken down. Not that we regard an isolated case like this as any argument against boating, any more than the fact that three or four members of one crew afterwards bloomed into bishops is an argument in favour of it. We believe the true question for debate to be whether, looking at the fabric and powers of the human body, the exertions required either in boating or racing are such as to be beyond the ordinary strength of young men, assuming a proper system of training to be laid down, and those whose constitution unfits them for such demands rigorously excluded. Now the length of the racing course on the Cam is, we are informed, 1, mile, 487 yards.

The distance rowed in practice is about six miles. The course on the Thames taken for the race between the Universities is, we are told, only just over four miles. These distances are not extravagant. It will give our readers, to most of whom it may be supposed such matters are not familiar, some idea of the strength and prowess of their muscular sons or brothers if we offer them a short summary of the report before us of the 'Oxford and Cambridge Athletic Sports,' held on the Christ Church ground, Oxford, in the spring of this year. The performances began with throwing the hammer. Of this we are told that—

'Throwing the hammer, when well executed, is one of the most elegant and graceful feats imaginable. Few who have seen the champion of Scotland hurl with ease the 16 lb. hammer from 150 to 170 feet will ever lose the impression of strength and activity which the sight conveys; and the Oxford and Cambridge champions, though by no means his equals, are very worthy pupils. The hammer-head is a shot weighing sixteen pounds, and the handle is made of tough ash, and is three feet long. The thrower balances the hammer high in the air, and then gives three successive springs towards the scratch, turning round at each spring, and at the end of the last turn, he hurls the hammer with all his strength.'

The victory was won by Cambridge with a throw

of 87 ft. 7 in. Next came the flat race, one mile, won by Oxford in 4. min. 45 seconds. Then the high jump fell to Cambridge, the champion clearing 5 ft. 6 in. It seems to us that to estimate this feat properly we ought to be told the height and weight of the performer. We remember at school seeing a boy—now a venerable archdeacon—clear a cord he had just before walked under. The flat race, 100 yards, proved a dead heat, two Oxford men doing it in 10 seconds. In putting the weight (16 lb.) Cambridge was again victorious, achieving 32 ft. 10½ in. The flat race of a quarter of a mile was won by Cambridge in 54½ seconds. A Cambridge man won the long jump, covering what seems, to ignorant eyes, the immense distance of 20 ft. 4 in.* The hurdle race, 120 yards, over 10 flights—which we suppose means there were ten hurdles—was accomplished by Oxford in 17½ seconds. Lastly, the two mile flat race ended in a dead heat between the Universities, the two runners

* We are informed by an athletic friend that this is the longest jump on record, taken off turf and on the level; for when Mr. Henry Warrington writes word to Mrs. Mountain at Castlewood, Virginia, that he had had 'the *gratafacation* of beating his lordship by more than two feet—viz. 2 ft. 9 in.,—me jumping twenty-one feet three inches by the drawer's measured tape, and his lordship only eighteen six,' he must be presumed to be romancing.

doing it in 10 minutes 20 seconds; and we should think everybody, and especially the competitors, must have been heartily glad when it was all over. We presume that this is a fair specimen of what athletic contests are in general, as, in looking through the report of what took place at Beaufort House, in which we are informed that 'the Cambridge men came out very strong,' we observe precisely the same trials, with as nearly as possible like results. Only in addition to those already specified there was a four mile race, run by a Cambridge man in 21 minutes 42 seconds, and a seven mile walking race, done by the winner in about half a minute under an hour. It would occupy too much space to copy the reports in full; but the sporting slang, though we suppose significant to persons interested in the games, is to the uninitiated ridiculous enough, and occasionally requires an interpreter. We ought, however, in justice to add that it is infinitely less vulgar than that of fifty years ago, and that there is not a word in any of the papers—and we have several before us—which could offend a woman's ear. Now, looking through the programme of friendly strife, we do not see

anything in it that ought to be permanently injurious to a young man of good constitution and well trained for the encounter. No doubt there is some danger incidental under the most favourable circumstances to high athletic condition. The process of reducing the volume of the muscles, which sets in as soon as these hard exercises are exchanged for a comparatively sedentary life, must of itself be trying to health ; and there are other attendant circumstances of peril, such as change of regimen, hours of sleep, &c.* But these drawbacks may be fairly balanced by the advantages that can be claimed for athletics. If, however, it be true that there is something beyond these, and [that the constitutions of young men are often broken up, as is certainly said to be the case, we apprehend there must be some fault in the system of training. What it is we do not pretend to say. There is lying before us an account of the exercise and diet prescribed by a captain of a college boat to his crew. There seems nothing unreasonable in it, except that perhaps the quantity

* Not the least, perhaps, is the one indicated in one of the quotations above—feasting as soon as the restraints of training are removed.

of animal food and the time allowed for sleep is somewhat excessive. But at twenty a man can bear a little excess in both these particulars. We have, too, a book entitled, 'The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, and Boxing ; including hints on exercise, diet, clothing, and advice to trainers, by Charles Westhall, the pedestrian champion of England.' Compared with the old system of training, the modern method must be wisdom itself, if Mr. Westhall's account of the former be but approximately correct. It is so monstrous that, though somewhat unsavoury, we copy it :—

'It was sweating work and physicking, changed with physicking work and sweating, until in every case the patient under treatment, for he could be called by no other name, was jaded to the extreme. . . . When a man had entered into an engagement to accomplish a distance in a certain time, he was immediately drenched with Glauber salts in large doses on alternate days, until the stomach was supposed to be sufficiently emptied ; and after this, as frequently happened, should there be any symptom of feverishness or hardness about the region of the bowels, the additional misery of an emetic was forced upon him. After undergoing these preliminary small attentions, he was taken to his training quarters, and placed under the care of a severe trainer, who invariably had a number of recipes by heart, the number of which in many instances constituted his chief merit in the eyes of his employers, and to which he most religiously

adhered, right or wrong, advancing as the last and an unanswerable argument, that the man whom he had trained last had faithfully followed his instruction, and won the race.'

We count a pedestrian lucky who did not live in those days. Mr. Westhall's own rules appear to us, as far as we are able to judge, sound and sensible. Cleanliness, moderation, and good temper are his grand precepts. In short he might very well sum up all he has to say with Paul's rule of temperance in all things. It will be fair to let him speak for himself:—

'The man who goes first into training is like an unbroken colt, and requires as much delicate treatment. The temper of the biped ought to be studied as carefully as that of the quadruped, so that his mind can be carefully prepared for his arduous situation, which is one of abstinence, and in some cases total deprivation, which always tries the patience, and frequently the temper of the competitor, who in these cases should be encouraged by word and example, showing that the inconveniences he is undergoing are but the preliminary steps to the attainment of that health, strength, and elasticity of muscle which have caused so many before him to accomplish almost apparent impossibilities. Such a trainer is worth a hundred of those who have no judgment in the regulation of the work which a man may take without in any way making him anxious to shun his duty or turn sullen. Let the trainer bear in mind, and always remember, that a fit of ill-temper is as injurious to the man in training as any other excess. . . . The office of the trainer is no bed of roses: he must be vigilant night and day, never leave

his man, and act according to his preaching, that is, be as abstemious, or nearly so, as his man, whom it is his duty to encourage in improvement, to cheer when despondent, and to check if there are at any time symptoms of a break out from the rules laid down.'

We might well take these rules to ourselves and become diligent trainers of our own bodies. We should many of us be not only stronger men, but better Christians into the bargain. Mr. Westhall himself does not fail to perceive that his rules have an application beyond his pupils in pedestrianism. He says,—

'These few words are not alone intended for the man who has to compete, but . . . for the greater portion of mankind, who go through the regular routine of life day after day, their business almost always being performed with apathy, and the remainder of their time passed in excessive smoking, eating, drinking, sleeping, sitting, or any small pet vice to which they may be addicted.'

It would be a changed world indeed if men could be persuaded that a life of apathetic indulgence is a life of vice.

But when we look for something beyond these general precepts, and inquire more precisely how the body is to be managed under training, we are disappointed. The amount as well as kind of

work to be done by the pupil is laid down with much clearness, and apparently with good sense and moderation. Food too is prescribed with tolerable exactness. But so far all is easy enough. Nature of herself offers ready guidance. What we miss is the kind of training for which in ancient times young men looked to the *aleipta* or training master. The name itself (*oiler*) is significant of what the ancients thought the most important part of training,—one might almost say the only part that required teaching, namely, the care of the muscles before and after work.* For of temperance in food and exercise a man may be his own teacher, at any rate with the help of a few rules that would soon become traditionary in any gymnasium; but the attention requisite for the bodily frame of the athlete requires medical knowledge, and ought probably to be varied so as to suit the constitution of each particular candidate for the honours of the field. How closely in the opinion of the ancients the arts of the mediciner and the trainer were allied is shown by such a word

* Pindar (Ol. viii. 53 *sqq.*) celebrates an *aleipta* (Melesias) by name, saying that his pupils had now been successful thirty times.

as *ιατραλείπτης*, which is explained in the lexicons, *a physician who cures by anointing*. Now, the captain's rules above referred to do not touch this point at all; they concern only food and sleep. That further care is needful for a man's frame under the strain of great exertion does not appear to have struck him. Even bathing is not mentioned. We believe that at the boat-houses nothing is provided for the crews on their return but basins and cold water—not even soap. Indeed the want of cleanliness incidental to manly sports, as practised at Cambridge, and, for anything we know, elsewhere, is one of the worst evils attendant on them. A man's body requires very careful cleansing and lubricating after these exercises. Officers in the army, we have been told, adopt some tolerably efficient measures for doing this. Undergraduates are not, we think, insensible of the need, but do not know how to meet it. Not that there is the slightest difficulty in the matter. Let a man not take off his flannels at the boat-house, but go straight to his rooms. There, a sponge, a piece of soap, and a jug of warm water, with a moderate use of the oil cruet afterwards, will soon

set him to rights. Of cleanliness in their clothing the young men are, we fear, incredibly careless. We have little doubt that we should learn on inquiry that flannel garments are often put away in a drawer just as they are taken off, and left seething there until the next time they are worn. Nothing could more surely engender that low condition which ends in organic disease. Flannels ought always to be well aired and dried before the fire and with the window open, or, better still, out of doors in the sun, after being worn in violent exercise. But nothing can exceed the ignorance of most undergraduates on such points as these. We once inquired of a youth who had been engaged in a walking match, whether he did not find his muscles strained or his skin irritated, and if so, what he did. He said Yes, and that he went to a chemist, who gave him an embrocation, which he assured him would do no harm. 'It smelt very strong of hartshorn.' That sounded to our ear as likely to do the skin pretty much the same service, or disservice, that a dram would do the jaded stomach. Mr. Westhall has three chapters devoted to the subjects which would fall more especially under the

charge of the *aleipta*; one on treatment of the feet, sinews, &c. ; one on baths ; one on thirst, which he calls 'the chief punishment when a man is in the course of training requisite to reduce his bulk,' and a very perilous kind of punishment it seems, and medicine. As the whole only occupy nine pages of a very small 24mo. volume, it may be judged that they do not contain much. What Mr. West-hall says is sensible as far as it goes : there is an excellent prescription for a sprained ankle, and a capital way of extemporizing a vapour bath, but that is all that can be said in the way of praise. The most important subject of all, the 'use of the bath, is treated in the most meagre fashion. There are scarcely any directions as to its use, no indication of the particular kind desirable under different circumstances or for different constitutions ; in short, scarcely any opinion given upon any point connected with it, except that the author thinks the Turkish bath 'far from healthy.' As for lubrication of the skin and muscles, he simply omits it. Now we do not in the least blame him for this ; on the contrary, we think it the very wisest thing he could do, for ancient methods are of course out of

the question, and no one could speak particularly on such matters but a well-educated medical man who had given special attention to the subject. Where is there such a man? We do think that not only athletes, but the general public, have reason here to complain of the doctors. For many years past they have been telling us that our fathers and mothers were very dirty people, that they neglected into the bargain one of the prime elements of health, and thereupon recommending us* to souse ourselves with cold water in all weathers, at all seasons, and almost without discrimination of age, sex, or constitution. Then we are ordered afterwards to rub our skins nearly off with coarse towels, horsehair gloves, or any other wiry abomination of bristles that can be invented. But nobody hitherto has taken any pains to examine the different effects of the different kinds of baths, or to give us directions founded on any scientific principle as to what to do after bathing. Generally the doctors content themselves with advising mere dry rubbing. One of the ancient physicians, however, is recorded to have severely injured his patients by this practice ; and an attendant at a Turkish bath once told us

that he had observed that if he shampooed a patient not in a profuse perspiration, it invariably brought out boils. What do the doctors say to this? What do they say to the Turkish bath itself, which has been introduced into this country some ten years, and is still, we believe, without any authoritative recognition from the faculty? Very likely some may recommend it, or the contrary, in private practice; but such opinions we can only get at by being ill. Now we want to know what we are to do to escape being ill. This is precisely the question which medical men seem determined to avoid.* Is it because they think that it is no business of theirs to keep us in health, but only cure us when we are sick? If so, we reply that

* We fear it is scarcely uncharitable to conclude that it is because they do not know how to answer it. No one can help feeling considerable distrust of the state of medical knowledge after the perusal of such a book as 'Notes on Cholera,' by Dr. George Johnson. Whether his theory be right or wrong, on which we are not competent to form an opinion, but which is understood to have received the unqualified approval of the most eminent physician now living, he proves indisputably that although cholera has been scourging the world for more than thirty years, no medical man has hitherto known anything about it, or even set to work the right way to investigate it. No wonder that they leave us to ourselves in smaller matters. But the teacher who wrote τῶν ἱατρῶν οἱ χαρίεντες πολλὰ πραγματεύονται περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος γνῶσιν did not, we take it, speak of anatomy merely, but of everything that can possibly concern or affect the living body in health or disease, and we cannot conceive a better maxim for a physician than that maxim so interpreted.

they do not understand their calling. They are a powerful body, well organized, with great privileges, and although, as they are rather fond of boasting, quite unendowed, able on the whole to indemnify themselves pretty well. They are charged not so much with the sickness as the health of the country. The great medical teachers in ancient times set them a good example in this matter. One of the works which passed under the name of Hippocrates was entitled *περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς*. A work of Galen's on the same subject, in six books, is still extant. Its style is such that we should suppose any educated man of his contemporaries could have read it with ease. Where is such a book for us now? Is it too much to hope that the living Cicero of medicine will give us a manual of the laws of exercise? It would not be easier to confer a greater physical benefit on mankind than a good treatise on that subject, written in a style that laymen could understand, free from the technicalities of the craft. Or will medical men take the bold line of denying the value of training, and say that it is good only for the racing ground, and may be safely neglected by the generality of

people? We think that would be a rash answer. For something like a thousand years the most civilized peoples of the world regarded gymnastics as a most important part of the education of their youth. The greatest of their physicians spoke and wrote of them as an integral part of the healing art. The words *ιατρός* and *γυμναστής* are found constantly together, as if they were brethren in science. Galen actually wrote a long treatise on the question whether the rules of health pertained more to the physician or the trainer, and came to the conclusion that it is the duty of the physician to guide his contemporaries in the whole management of the body, sick or well, and not to regard it as his sole business to cure diseases. Of this management he says exercises are a most important part, and cannot be neglected by the physician who understands his art. He cites with approval the example of Hippocrates, Diocles, Praxagoras, Philotimus, and Herophilus, each of whom, he tells us, made himself acquainted with all the art of managing the body.* He illustrates his theory in

* In his third book, '*De Sanitate tuenda*,' he speaks in high terms of the writings of Theon of Alexandria. Now this Theon began life as

every part of his works by continually recurring discussions of the use and benefit of bodily exercises. The treatise which stands next to the one already adverted to is one on the use of the ball, which he recommends in preference to every other exercise. Finally, we may remark that in this view of his duty as a leech he only follows the example of every medical writer of eminence, from Hippocrates downward. If, then, modern writers are right in entirely neglecting this department of medical science, and leaving us to our own devices, we must conclude that the most sharpsighted people that ever lived on the face of the earth—the people who of all others had the best opportunities of observing the affections to which the human frame is liable—for in those days the naked body was no unfamiliar sight—and the effects of exercise upon it, were altogether mistaken in their deductions, and busied themselves for hundreds of years in inquiries that were after

an athlete, then he became a trainer, and finally a physician. We may remark, in passing, that the whole of the second and third books of Galen's treatise on health is devoted to a discussion of exercises, baths, and rubbing, and the author addresses himself, he tells us, to men who have in view not high athletic condition, but simply health.

all of no importance. We do not think many persons whose opinion is of any value will readily acquiesce in such a conclusion. On the whole, we venture to repeat, that any physician who will address his mind to the subject, and write a good treatise for the guidance of young men in that department of self-management which belonged to the *aleiptæ* of old, will confer an inestimable benefit not only on the young men who frequent the racing grounds of Oxford, Cambridge, or London, but on his countrymen at large. We urge this the more earnestly because there are already signs of a dead set being made by fathers against athletic exercises. Worse than this, there are symptoms of a growing inclination among young men to neglect them for the sake of amusements far more pernicious to health of mind. We particularly refer to the amateur dramatic clubs which have for some time past been permitted to be formed both at Oxford and Cambridge. It is enough to say that at the scenic performances of these societies young men are dressed as girls, and dance and coquet like actresses with the male characters of the piece, to prove that they ought not to be countenanced.

We regret exceedingly to find that ladies are not ashamed to be present at these representations. Do not let us be mistaken. We do not for a moment think that the young men concerned so much as dream of any harm. They would with one voice and with perfect truth disclaim anything worse than the amusement of the hour. What we fear is entirely future. All history is against such entertainments. But sports of some kind young men will have, and quite right. It is unnatural, impossible that everybody should wholly devote himself to the kind of training which is to be got through books and lectures. Were it so, this would be a world too dull to live in. Further, we deny that athletic exercises are unfruitful of either intellectual or moral improvement. Properly conducted, they are calculated to make a man observant, active, patient, orderly, and to give him full control over the powers of both mind and body. Nor do they, as at present managed, demand any strain of which the human frame is not readily capable. All that is needed is sound health and a good code of rules for keeping it. We are certain that the good sense required to induce the young men to obey such

rules is not lacking. But unless some steps be shortly taken by persons competent to advise them, and of influence enough to gain their adherence, we prophesy that opposition of that ignorant and mischievous sort which would fain put down, instead of guiding and encouraging, every natural impulse of young blood, will shortly carry the day—with a loss, as we sincerely believe, to the manhood and vitality of the country past all measure.

There remains one topic, the ungracious but very necessary one, of saying that too many teachers and parents contribute their share to the evils attendant on these youthful strifes. We allude to the unreasonable exaggeration of the value of success in such contentions. Sometimes it is the father, sometimes the master, who is in fault ; sometimes both. Very few have the moral courage to recommend youthful exercises as good in themselves for manhood and godliness, and to despise the argument of emulation. They recommend a boy to make himself temperate and strong, not that he may run well a manly and Christian course through the world, but that he may run better than A or B at the next Oxford and Cambridge sports, or

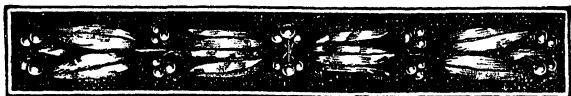
that his school may beat some other school at cricket next season. We at once declare our utter contempt and abhorrence of such an argument. If successful rivalry is to be the end of athletic exercises, we heartily wish they may vanish off the face of the earth. Let there by all means be friendly struggles in the open field between the Universities or between schools, but do not let success in them be the end proposed for diligence. We may be asked what reason we have for thinking that parents or teachers do exaggerate the importance of such success. We appeal in reply to the notoriety of the fact. It is not the least of the reasons which made an eminent tutor in one of the Universities express in our hearing a jocose wish for 'the abolition by Act of Parliament of the fathers and mothers of all lads coming up to college.' A young friend of ours, an adept in all manly exercises, was complaining to us one day of the opposition of his father to his favourite pursuits. 'But I've found out,' he continued, 'that whenever I win, the governor boasts of it to his friends in the city.' As for masters, we must say that many of them treat the school sports as if they

were of far more importance than the school studies. We know an instance of a father going down to one of the great schools to see the master in whose house his son boarded. He wanted to know how his boy was going on. He stayed three quarters of an hour, trying in vain to draw the conversation to the subject of his visit. Nothing could he get from the master but idle talk of the prospects of the school at the next match at something or other. As soon as he got home, he very naturally wrote a letter to say that he should remove his boy at the end of the half. We could give other examples of the same sort in plenty. But we decline the invidious task. We are content with indicating the evil, and leaving it to the judgment of those of our readers who are conversant with the tone taken in many schools, or by many parents, in such matters.

We have thus endeavoured, in a very cursory and superficial manner, to draw attention to what we seriously believe to be at this moment a subject important from several points of view. We are sensible that we write at a disadvantage in some particulars, from our own utter ignorance both of

athletic exercises and of the art of medicine. But we only profess to give a lay view of the matter, and all our desire is to induce those who are competent to do so to discuss it in all its bearings. We have endeavoured to point out the evils which often accompany these exercises as at present practised, and we assert at the same time our belief that they are merely accidental, and can be got clean rid of without diminishing either the usefulness or attractiveness of such sports. In proof of this we think we may point to cricket. We can sincerely say that nothing will give us truer pleasure than to find any one able to prove that betting on amateur pedestrians or boats crews is unknown at Oxford and Cambridge and in Government offices ; that athletic exercises are practised in a way conducive both to health and morals ; and that schoolmasters and fathers are as a body utterly indifferent to whether their boys win or lose. Some may think the whole subject unworthy to stand side by side with the grave arguments to which this *Review* is chiefly devoted. This we cannot concede. It certainly admits of being treated in a somewhat lighter manner than many of these, and possibly

our readers may consider we have availed ourselves to the full of this admission. Well, we must hope they will forgive us. As the good Vicar of Wakefield said, one gets tired of being always grave. We may at all events respectfully recommend the ready resource of skipping. But we do maintain that the subject is worthy of, and at the present moment demands, the attention of wise and good men, clergy by no means excepted. In support of this proposition we may plead the example of the wisest of the fathers, who in his *παιδαγωγός* or 'tutor,' carefully discusses not only the exercises of the gymnasium, but much humbler details of dress and manners both of men and women; and we would advise no one to say he did ill until he has read and well considered what the good priest had to say.



THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

IF one were to pay heed to much of what has been said upon platforms and written in pamphlets and newspapers in the course of the last eight or ten years on the subject of the education of women, one might be led to think that it was a matter heretofore almost wholly neglected, and that the present generation was the first to discover that women require and deserve training suitable to the share that falls to them in carrying on the affairs of life. A very slight retrospect will show how far this is from being the case. We shall find, on the contrary, reason to believe, that from the very earliest times the bringing up of girls

must have been a subject of anxious care, not only to the matrons, but to the men of every civilized nation. Thus, to go no farther than the Bible for examples, the pages of both Old and New Testaments exhibit many a bright portrait of a maiden armed with all the graces of her sex. If we turn to the other best-known peoples of ancient days, we shall find equal reason to believe that they were not so indifferent to the education of their daughters as is sometimes rather too hastily assumed. The poets of Hellas would scarcely have ascribed their inspiration to the favour of virgins of Helicon, had they been accustomed to the society of women incapable of literary cultivation and refinement; nor again under that disadvantage could they have conceived the charming feminine characters with which their works abound. Nor would we readily believe that the advantages of education were confined to a particular class of women, whose habits of life made them eager to adorn mind and body with every meretricious attraction. It is a point difficult to prove. Unhappily, it is too clear that the estimate of women at Athens was low, and the view taken of their duties as wives and mothers

mean and degrading. And no doubt few would be found to rise above the low level assigned them, for women in all ages and countries adapt themselves very much to what men think of them. At the same time there could be no chance of our hearing of such exceptions as might occur, since Pericles must have expressed the general feeling of his countrymen when he said that nothing was more creditable to a woman than to be never heard of among men. But it does not follow from this that we have no *data* to go upon.* Great men do not spring from the wombs of ignorant and foolish mothers. Just as the orator found the glorious deeds of her sons redound to the glory of Athens, so we may reasonably infer that Hellenic soldiers, statesmen, and poets owed much to those who bore them, and praise the mothers in the children. The same argument might be used of the matronage of Rome. But it is not our present business to argue the matter. We would merely indicate that there are grounds for thinking that more regard was paid, and with more success, to the education of women in past ages than is commonly supposed, and remind our readers that while they are sure to hear

of all the evil that can be said against the sex, and find the names of the most profligate women recorded, history is likely to be silent concerning the great bulk of those virtuous and accomplished matrons who, content with bearing the conquerors of the world intellectual or world material, lived quiet and unknown under the shadow of their homes. We may pass to the more immediately interesting subject of the education of women in our own country.

The pretty story of King Alfred's childhood—his coveting an illuminated copy of a Saxon poem, and winning it of his mother by learning to read it—may be fairly taken as typical of the way of English mothers with their sons. There is perhaps no nation on the face of the earth where women have more uniformly claimed or better exercised their natural rights in the bringing up of their offspring. Few men have attained to greatness among us on whose character this tender nurture of early years has not left deep marks, few who have not openly and thankfully acknowledged the debt. But it may be again inferred that women who could so acquit themselves of their teaching duties could not have

been rude or uneducated. And it must be said that the chroniclers of England have done them considerable justice. Our annals teem with the names of royal and noble dames renowned for every feminine accomplishment, as well as those higher qualities of soul without which accomplishments are worth little—wisdom, tenderness, and purity. Even the rude Norman times abound with such names, and to cite examples would be merely to crowd our pages to no purpose. Should it be replied that these were after all merely exceptions, proving nothing of the average condition of the sex, we are not without the means of showing that the education of women was not neglected in the ranks of ordinary life. Take, for instance, the Paston Letters—a collection the authenticity of which it is a marvel indeed should ever have been questioned. To that invaluable repertory we find the ladies of the family contributing their full share. Indeed, it seems to have been the custom of the men of that house to have consulted them on all their most important affairs. They not only write to their mothers or wives concerning their domestic matters, but keep them well informed of the shifting

politics of those troubled times. They appear seldom to have taken any step for the management or protection of their property, or even in their relations with the rival factions of the day, without asking their advice. The ladies, on their side, appear to have well earned the confidence reposed in them. Nothing can be more prudent and courageous, at the same time more tender and womanly, than the general tenor of their letters. It is truly surprising, in the midst of the terrible civil war which was then laying England waste, and in which their husbands, sons, or brothers took an active share, to see them so unruffled by terror or anxiety. Whatever they felt they kept to themselves. When occasion called them to act, they proved equal to the demand. Nor were they wanting in those lighter arts which make home cheerful in times of peace. Thus there is a pretty letter from a lady to a nobleman, in lines much above the common run of *vers de société*.* No maiden of modern days could write letters to her lover excelling in modesty, simplicity, and tender-

* 'Paston Letters,' vol. ii. p. 304.

ness, those of sweet Margery Brews to John Paston, 'her Valentina'*. And one might search all history in vain for a more perfect pattern of wife and mother than Margaret Paston, mother-in-law of Margery. In the very first letter of the collection we are told of her entertaining her future husband 'with gentyl cher in gentyl wyse.' A year or two after her marriage she commends herself to him 'with all her simple herte.' When he is sick, she would have him home 'lever dan a newe goune, zow it wer of scarlette.' She is able and bold enough to make good her husband's house in his absence against the wild retainers of the Duke of Suffolk. There is indeed something very touching in tracing in the long series of her letters this gentle creature's career through wedlock into widowhood. To the last, for all her troubles and losses, she is the same bright Margaret, well worthy of the husband who, after they had lived more than twenty years together, writes a merry letter in rhyme to his 'own dear sovereign lady.' From the same source we get some curious information

* 'Paston Letters,' vol. ii. pp. 214-15.

as to how girls of good birth were brought up in those days. There is no hint of their ever being sent to a convent to be educated.* The most common plan seems to have been to place them under the charge of some friend or relative, they in return, besides some payment for their board, making themselves useful in the house. Thus among the memoranda of Agnes Paston—who it may be inferred was a sensible woman, since we find her elsewhere making a special request to her son's tutor 'to belash him' unless he were more diligent—is one to this effect:—

'And sey Elyzabt' Paston that she must use hyrselfe to werke redyly as other Ientylwomen don', and su'what to helpe hyrselfe therw't. It'm to pay the Lady Pole xxvjs. viijd. for hyr bord.'†

So, in another place, Sir John Heveningham desires Margaret Paston to take Anneys Loveday as a boarder.

Succeeding generations appear in this respect to have deserved equally well of their country.

* We do not mean to imply by this that convents were not often very good schools.

† 'Paston Letters,' vol. i. p. 143.

The era of the Tudors was fruitful of graceful and accomplished women. But with the Stuarts came evil times. That ill-omened race, conscious of their defective title to the crown, did all in their power to degrade and brutalize the people over whom they were placed. Accordingly they deliberately encouraged ignorance and vice in both sexes. The royal daughter of Henry VIII., under the like disadvantage, had comported herself in far different wise. She imperiously asserted her right, and if she did not succeed in silencing all question, at least made all men obey her, while they wondered at the vigour and wisdom of a woman. But there was no such nobleness to support the poor recreant who succeeded her. Under him chiefly came in that withering baseness of morals which poisoned a large part of English society for the ensuing hundred and fifty years, and of the effects of which we are not yet rid. Culminating under the second Charles, it was too slowly worked out. Indeed, in coarseness of thought and speech, the ladies of the earlier half of the last century were almost a match for the women of Charles's Court, although their lives were probably less actually profligate. But

the records of the Courts of the four Georges are not pleasant, and it is poor honour to have shone in any one of them. George III. and his Queen stand out brightly in the unsavoury story, but few of their courtiers deserve to range with their master and mistress. Under these unfavourable circumstances, no wonder that women sank rapidly downwards in the scale of refinement. The tone of gallantry which prevailed in the time of the Stuarts sprang from no true respect : it thinly covered a settled design to degrade women into mere instruments and bond-slaves of lust. If under Anne there was some attempt at improvement, it was too short and fleeting to produce much effect. The Queen's own weak character and gross personal habits did much to counteract the efforts made by such men as the writers in the *Spectator* to improve the minds of the women of their day. Some names remain, it is true, to attest the existence of clever and cultivated women among our great-grandmothers, but they fall sadly beneath the Jane Greys and Margaret Pastons of earlier days. Indeed, I know few things more sadly indicative of decay in manners than a comparison of the

letters of the ladies of the Paston family with those of the famous Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. For grace, simplicity, and love—for the wisdom of—

‘Perfect women, nobly planned
To guide, to counsel, and command,’—

we find substituted the heartless gaiety and cold sparkle of the witty woman of the world, fettered to a husband to whom she had no love to give, and surrounded by a circle of people whose admiration she coveted, but for whom she had not a spark of true regard. You may see the character of the two eras in their dress. Look at the sober dame of the fifteenth century, as she lies by her husband's side with her comely wimple and decorous robe falling evenly to her feet, and compare with her the belle of the eighteenth, all powder, patches, paint, and hoops. It is true, it became a fashion with women to be learned. But learning does not mean education in the true sense of the word, especially in the case of women, and it is very doubtful whether they were any the better for it. Johnson, true to the cause of letters, bestows his praise on the Mrs. Carters and Mrs.

Montagus of his day, but it is pretty clear he does not much like them. Miss Burney and Miss Hannah More seem to have been the only literary women for whom he really cared. And if there were, as God forbid there should not have been, many excellent women in those days who yearned after better things, the terrible storm of the French Revolution left them no chance of effecting much good. We are only now getting far enough from that fearful time to estimate—whatever good may have since sprung from it—the stern check it imposed for many long years on the progress of learning and art. Scott excepted, even the poets who adorned that period were little known or appreciated till some years after the struggle was over. The number of students at the Universities dwindled down ; there were few or no great writers ; all men's thoughts and energies were spent on the war. Prosperous for a few, the times for the bulk of the people were hard, and there was little money to spend on the teacher. If sons fared badly in this respect, daughters, as is the way of the world, fared worse ; and probably at no time in our history was the education of women gene-

rally at a lower point than in the time of George the Fourth, whether as regent or king. Dancing, the merest smattering of drawing, French, and music, were all that was taught a girl. As for more solid accomplishments, they were, generally speaking, utterly neglected. An album fifty or sixty years old is of dreary things the dreariest. Trumpery verses, puny little copies of a drawing-master's stock-in-trade of flowers, fruit, and impossible cottages, make them up. Queen Adelaide, willing enough to set an example of better things, was too short a time in the position to do so, and suffered too much from broken health. A turn for the better was reserved for her successor.

The reign of our present Sovereign, in many respects felicitous, has been in none more so than the attention which has been paid to the condition of women in all ranks of society. Time indeed it was that something should be done. The misery and degradation of the lives of too many women was and is a stain upon the manhood of the country. With regard, however, to the matter with which we are at present concerned—their education—the favourable change of which we

speech is due not merely to the fact of there being a woman on the throne, but very much to the personal character of the Queen and her Consort. Both began their career by taking a hearty interest in arts and letters ; both were by temperament and education inclined to domestic life, adorned by becoming and refined pursuits ; neither cared for the riotous pleasures or barbaric splendour of vulgar royalty. Above all, both were influenced by a genuine desire to improve the condition of the poor. The late Prince Consort will be always and deservedly remembered for his care for the poor. In all his efforts to help them he was seconded by the Queen ; and the sight of the Royal pair busy in doing good unquestionably wrought an incalculable effect throughout the country, especially among women. It reminded them of the mighty share they hold in alleviating the sufferings and promoting the welfare of the world ; it encouraged those who had hitherto worked or yearned to work in secret to come out into the light of day, and openly and publicly ask for help in every department in which it was needed. The stir and movement thus aroused had the best effect

on their minds. They began to perceive in how many points their education had been defective—how formal, superficial, and showy were the accomplishments on which they had most prided themselves. For a woman who does not go beyond her own home and little circle of friends and acquaintance scarcely ever has an opportunity of taking true measure of herself. She never gets that rough contact with other minds which soon teaches her brothers to find their level. People are—and quite rightly, for the drawing-room is not a fit arena for trials of that sort—too kind, too civil, too careful of her feelings to give her a chance of finding out what her education is really worth, how far it has succeeded in arming her with refinement, self-control, and aptitude for business. But as soon as societies began to be formed in which women took a leading part, and that in public, they quickly learnt that something more was needed than they had been accustomed to receive from their teachers. It is too true that there must be added to this the pressure of actual need. The order of Providence has been overset by emigration. Thousands of women who might have naturally looked to mar-

riage for support in comfort and quiet, have been forced to earn their bread for themselves. Many have had the dreadful choice to make between want and evil courses. Men, it must be owned, have not done all their duty in the matter. It cannot be denied that, take society throughout, women have not been of late thought and spoken of with the respect due to them. There is too much ridicule, too much contemptuous talk. If, as is probable, there is less profligacy among the upper ranks of society than formerly, it has without doubt fearfully increased in the commercial and labouring classes. Therefore, when we read in the newspapers tales of brutality to women that seem to grow daily more terrible, we must regard it, as indeed crime is always to be regarded, as the outward sore which indicates the poison within, poison affecting the whole body politic. Nor have these signs of the times obtained from men the attention they deserve. There has been talk, but little has been done. Thus various circumstances have combined to urge those women, whom God has blessed with leisure and ability, to come forward and attempt to do something effectual for

the benefit of their own sex. And the first and chiefest need they found was that that they should be better taught. For this, then, there quickly arose a cry.

At first, it was not so much an articulate cry as a scream. In every great movement of humanity it will be found that the wiser part of mankind are not the first to come forward and declare themselves, especially where there is a grievance or a want. Not that they wait to see how the wind blows, but what they discuss in private, and are waiting prudently, may be over-prudently, for a fit occasion to bring before the world, some incautious or mischievous friend blazes abroad, and if it be a matter of general interest, forthwith there is a conflagration. Never was this more the case than in the present instance. It is now, we believe, some ten or twelve years since the public mind began to be aroused on various points regarding the state of women both in this country and the colonies. Great complaints were made of the incompetence of ladies of the present day to conduct their households. They did not know, it was said, how to cook a dinner, cut out a frock, or rule their

maidens. Really at one time a wife must, we think, have been in a state of nervous excitement every time dinner was put on table, or a new set of pocket-handkerchiefs came home for her husband. Then their taste was laughed to scorn. Gaudy, ill-planned, yet not cheap furniture, crowded their drawing-rooms, while garments of preposterous shape and astounding colours disfigured their bodies. It must be owned there was some truth in these charges. In some degree, under the best circumstances, they will always be true. Few women, or men either, will ever be trained to thorough skill or taste in any science or accomplishment, and the general condition in matters like dress or furniture will depend on how far the leaders of fashion may be competent to their task. But the outcry raised was simply foolish, because it said that everything as it was was simply wrong. Then was brought forward the subject of the inequality of the sexes. Women were starving at home for want of husbands, while in the colonies men were pining and in rags for lack of wives. The panacea, at least as far as the old country was concerned, was to be what was called the eman-

cipation of women. Hitherto it must be supposed women had been slaves. Most men will rather incline to the view of the little Sunday school boy, who, upon the teacher asking the class to prove from Scripture that men may not have more than one wife, called out, 'I know, teacher—No man can serve two masters.' However, emancipation it was to be. What was desired seemed to be that a husband and wife, living in one house, with every interest in the world in common, might have separate purses. Women did not appear to see that although this might mend one great and growing evil, it might end in bringing in another and far greater one. Unscrupulous men might altogether deny the duty of maintaining wives whom the law permitted to earn a living for themselves. The census of 1861, proving that women outnumbered men in England far more than had been supposed, fanned the flame higher and hotter. There was a perfect storm of meetings, speeches, pamphlets, magazines. In the midst of all this, the voice of sense and reason could be scarcely heard. But in the meantime the fruit of the work of wise and self-denying women, which had been quietly

going forward all the time, began to show itself. It was seen that mothers meetings, cottage flower shows, parish sewing societies, well-organized schemes of emigration, and, to turn to more sad and serious matters, refuges and penitentiaries. were beginning to produce a sensible improvement. More than this, the general tone of the sex grew better. Among women of rank and station there was less folly, less frivolity and bad taste. But the improvement was chiefly discernible in London, where lived the greater number of the more sensible women who were trying to help their sisters. In the provinces, at any rate among the commercial classes, carelessness of the wants of their neighbours, or at the best misdirected energies, and in their own dress and houses a foolish love of finery and show, still reigned predominant. It was seen that the root of all this lay in ignorance. Thoughtful women perceived that no large and well-directed attempt could be made to avert the evils which are threatening the whole fabric of society through the great wrongs their sex are undeniably suffering in our day, until the general body were better taught, and so not only knew

better what to ask for, but made their appeal in a more clear and united voice. They therefore left for a while their other pressing tasks to go on quietly under the hands of those to whom they were more especially committed, and of which we have the past three or four years heard comparatively little, in order to urge the public mind to consider the need of improving the education of women. Thus what was in the beginning a confused scream, became a clear and definite cry for help.

Before entering upon the detail of what they demanded, and what has been done to meet their demand, it will be well to examine what grounds of complaint existed, and what end it is desirable to have in view. It is impossible, we think, to deny that, some twenty years ago, girls were very badly taught. Whether they were sent to school or brought up by governesses at home, the result, as has been already pointed out, was very slight and meagre. Now we are not going to make an onslaught on either governesses or girls schools ; yet we cannot help saying that, some years back, both were as bad as they could be. This was due by no means so much to their own fault as to the parents

of their scholars. People engaging a governess asked and expected her to teach their daughters a whole round of accomplishments. Even well-educated persons, whose attention had been long turned to other pursuits, and who were busy with the cares of life, forgot how impossible it was for one person to teach more than one or two things well. Perhaps we must add that the forgetfulness was in some measure wilful, sparing the purse. So the poor governess had to teach subjects with which she was herself imperfectly acquainted, and could only just keep ahead of her pupils. Many a poor girl must have had trying work of it ; pupils all day, indoors and out, never got rid of but in bed, and to have to give to the next lesson in German or Italian the precious hour or two of solitude before going to rest. How could the pupils get much real teaching from one so jaded and weary? How could we wonder if to be a governess was the last thing a well-bred and high-principled girl would take to, yet the ready resort of unscrupulous poverty? As for schools, things were, if possible, yet worse. Every girl was expected to be taught everything. Her own measure

of taste and abilities was the last thing thought of by her parents. Knowledge and skill could be put into her, they considered, like water into a glass or sugar into a basin, and they expected to pay for it at so much per pound. The poor schoolmistress was obliged to put everything she could think of into her prospectus, and find, somehow or other, an hour or two in the course of the week for every subject. They were taken in routine, no matter how inconsistent and repulsive. Here is an example. Two little girls of thirteen and eleven years old, at a first-rate London boarding-school, spent a Sunday with a married cousin. At breakfast on Monday morning she asked them what they would have to do when they got back. 'Oh, the first lesson is in chronology.' And the next? 'Oh, the next is in conchology.*' But the mistress was not to blame. If parents insisted on their daughters receiving a smattering of every branch of human knowledge, she must obey. It is easy to say, 'Do what is right, and never mind consequences;' but when a lady has taken a large

* Fact. It occurred at the writer's own table.

house and premises, and has rent and bakers bills before her eyes, it is not so easy to defy the world. Not easy, even where there is a fair standard to appeal to ; least of all where there was none but the judgment, or misjudgment, of parents. Men who teach boys are in a far better position. They, if they have been at either Oxford or Cambridge, have their place in the honour classes to point to in testimony of their having bestowed attention on the tasks in which they are engaged. If not, they can still challenge the example set by the able scholars who are placed at the head of all the most important schools, and argue that they are not likely to be wrong in following in the steps of guides so competent to lead them. But a lady had no such support. She had absolutely nothing but the chance of parents forming a right estimate of her abilities—an estimate which must be formed chiefly from the reports of a child, certainly inexperienced and ignorant, perhaps vain, foolish, and malicious into the bargain—to distinguish her from the female charlatan in the next street, whom the possession of a few hundred pounds, and the desire of butter for her bread, had moved to put a plate

with 'Academy for Young Ladies' on her door, without knowledge, without accomplishments, without liberality, but with just sense enough to keep a good table for her pupils, and to see that her half-starved, worn-out assistants occupied them from hour to hour throughout the day with a pretence of instruction. This is no overcharged description of what many and many a girls school was and is throughout the country. It is the harder to combat, because every girls school is a private speculation, and that, too, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, a speculation not very flourishing. No women take to the business of teaching girls except under pressure of absolute necessity. The most successful schoolmistresses do not realize more than a very modest competency to retire upon in old age ; few get more than daily bread. Often there is an idle scamp of a husband in the back-ground, who is not ashamed to be the parasite and cankerworm of his own wife. Every one knows how different it is with men. The profession of a schoolmaster, if sometimes irksome and laborious, is, and always has been in England, except by a man's own fault, dignified and

honourable—often, indeed, in the case of clergy, leading to the very highest preferments in the Church. Many masters of ordinary private schools, after holding a position of great respectability among their neighbours, retire with good fortunes. This excellent state of things is secured, almost beyond fear of change, by the great position and growing influence of the two universities in the country, and their sending their most promising sons not merely to the old foundations of Henry VI. and Edward VI., and the great schools which have sprung from the generosity of private persons, but even to such as have no resources beyond the capital of an individual. Ladies have no such helps and encouragements; and perhaps the very first thing to be done in order to improve the education of girls is to add dignity to the calling of their teachers. Many accomplished and attractive women are at the head of girls schools here and there throughout the country: such no doubt enjoy the respect and affection they deserve from their pupils and their friends. Many charming girls whose homes are poor, or who have been left in orphanhood, go out as governesses for the sake of

food and shelter. These too are sometimes—often, let us hope—treated with parental care and kindness. But it is impossible to say that their calling is regarded by the public at large as more than tolerably respectable—certainly not dignified. Take the sure test of marriage. If a man—say a clergyman, barrister, or military or naval officer—marry a lady who has been engaged in teaching, it is at least a question among his friends whether he may not have made something of a *mésalliance*. Certainly he is not thought to have married well. It is probable that very few such marriages occur at all. Far different is it with the other sex. Tutors of colleges and schoolmasters have, if one may venture so to put it, the pick of the matrimonial market. Dine at a house in a provincial town where there is a grammar school, and ten to one but the master's wife is one of the prettiest, sprightliest, and most ladylike women in the room. Why there should be this difference is hard to see. If a woman is ever to earn her own bread at all, surely there is no way so honourable as bringing up children of her own sex to be good wives and mothers ; for this, after all, rightly and generously

understood, is the true end of the education of women. However, a change in the public estimate of this matter will not be wrought by argument or even example, and we are certainly not prepared to recommend an ardent youth to go and marry a governess because she is a governess, in the hope of converting the little world of eligible suitors. It will only be brought about by the slow but sure exclusion of unworthy persons from the office of teacher. How this may be done is a question. We are in hopes that a process is already begun which may do something towards it. It is not impossible that time may produce something of a sisterhood to which none may be admitted who cannot produce satisfactory proofs of fitness, not merely in acquirements, but in character, temper, and manners. However, be the method what it may, once draw a clear line between fit and unfit women, let the business of teaching girls once become, in the true sense of the word, a *calling*, upon which those who have any worthy view of their duties will not enter until they have been declared by competent authority able and fit to be invited to it, and it will henceforth become honour-

able. There will then be no difficulty in finding candidates in every way worthy of an office so important and so truly noble.

Next perhaps in importance to raising the *status* of teachers comes a better adaptation of subjects to the tastes and capacities of different girls. Some things no doubt ought to be taught to every girl who is to receive the education of a lady—French, for example, and botany (we assume English and sewing), and perhaps chemistry enough for a little kitchen lore. But why in the name of common sense should Italian and German be forced on a girl who shows no ability whatever for acquiring languages, or drawing and music on one who has neither eyes nor ears? Each may be tried, and the rudiments, especially of drawing, to some extent mastered; but when proficiency is become hopeless, surely it is better to give them up. Probably nothing has contributed more to make men fight shy of drawing-rooms than the peril of being compelled to listen while a poor girl drums out her little exercise on the piano in unsteady time, with bungling fingers and dull touch. Drawing at any rate hurts nobody, and the commonest sketches of scenery

are interesting to the sketcher and her friends. Still, pursued without prospect of success, it becomes a waste of time. What clever girls require most is to be encouraged to cultivate a decided taste for something, just as clever boys make their choice between classics and mathematics. Without indeed being clever, there are few girls worth having who would not be willing to take up something or other, and give their minds to it, if they were only shown the way. No doubt there are girls, no less than boys, incorrigibly idle or stupid, but they are probably fewer in proportion to the whole ; and those who tend that way have rather a better chance. More choice is set before them at school, and a good many of the tasks to which they may turn themselves are hardly less attractive than mere amusements. But it is seldom that a girl has the right motive for industry placed before her. All the exhortations she gets, whether from parents, friends, or teachers, commonly come to this, that she is to fit herself for display. The school exhibition at the end of the half-year, the mistress's party, the drawing-room at home, are represented to her as the arena of feminine strife,

in which she is to distance her rivals, and her reward is to be a good marriage. The word *good*, it must be observed, is used in a sense as thoroughly commercial as on 'Change. The duty of cultivating the abilities God has given her, of fitting herself for the work of life, is rarely or never placed before her mind, unless she is lucky enough to hear now and then a sensible sermon at church. Is it Utopian to think that good motives will avail more than bad ones to make girls diligent? God forbid! the world is in a poor way indeed if it be so. But we do not believe it. We have ourselves been fortunate enough to know at least one girls school which has obtained remarkable success in every sense of the word, without any vicious incitements to get on being laid before the scholars. Besides, what is true of boys may, in this respect, be safely referred to as a guide to what we may look for in the case of girls. Few persons conversant with the subject will deny that considerable good has been effected by the higher tone taken with boys about their lessons. The effect is not always to be seen at the time, but comes out in after life. Now girls are not less ready than their brothers to hear

the voice of the wise—do not in ripeness of years less require the consolation and encouragement of duty to support them under the trials of life. There is then no reason for substituting inferior motives for the truest and highest in order to persuade girls to use their time well. Teach them to think of pleasing neither themselves nor others, but only God; teach them that their tastes and feelings, kept under due control, are the natural indications marked by His hand of what it will be of most account to turn their minds to; teach them that if, as becomes women, they long to charm all about them into respect and love, the surest way of doing so is the diligent and unconscious discharge of the duty of the hour. We do not believe that any one teaching in this spirit would find them unwilling or unapt scholars. It is in this spirit that we would be understood in saying that the true end of the education of women is making good wives and mothers. This is a very different thing from saying that marriage is the end of life to a woman. For the qualities, and especially the manners, that make a good wife and mother are essential to every woman, married or unmarried. Why is it that old

maids are so often crabbed and useless creatures? Often, no doubt, disappointment has much to do with it ; yet in most cases it will assuredly be found to have arisen from the want of womanly graces in youth no less than in age. Every one must know old maids who are as useful in their generation and as much beloved by those about them as any married woman, and this by the exercise of precisely the same virtues as make a wife a blessing to her husband and children—prudence, kindness, and a sweet tongue. If the old Winchester motto, ‘Manners makyth man,’ be true for boys, truer is it if possible that ‘Manners makyth women ;’ and she who, teaching girls, keeps this in view, will best succeed in bringing them up to be capable of making their homes cheerful, happy, and innocent, and to live to do God service.

It is full time, however, to turn to what has been actually done to meet the just and reasonable demands of the sex. The first decisive attempt to step out of the old routine was the establishment of ladies colleges. These were set on foot, we suppose, with the view of opening to girls an opportunity of carrying their education to a some-

what higher point—to stand, in short, to ordinary girls schools in something the same relation as the universities stand to grammar schools. Much good has undoubtedly been done by these institutions. Yet it may be questioned whether their system is such as one would desire to see generally, or even in any case, adopted elsewhere ; for the lectures are chiefly conducted by men, an arrangement which surely nothing but the strongest necessity can recommend. There is something to our mind as unseemly and unnatural in girls being taught by men as in committing boys after infancy to the charge of women. It is incredible, impossible that it should in the long run work well. However, all honour is due to the original founders of the institutions which have been so largely useful in educating the young women of London, nor should we advert to that part of their system which seems unsuitable for general adoption, were it not a fact that this particular detail is just the one which is being widely employed. We have before us a prospectus of a large girls school in a provincial town, in which there are paraded before parents the names of no less than nine self-styled “professors,” no

one of whom can boast the smallest distinction in any particular. Now what possible advantage can this school offer to outweigh the great disadvantage of putting men to teach girls? Take every-day teaching for every-day girls, and the only thing they cannot be taught by their own sex as well as by men is perhaps drawing. Take languages: these are surely much better taught them by women than men. To employ a French *master* is especially absurd. A French woman is as a rule higher in the scale of humanity than a French man, possesses more diligence, firmness, and sense of duty than he. However, even if it were otherwise, and granting—what is not the case—that girls taught by men were clearly and widely better than their competitors in knowledge of their subjects, we question whether the probable loss does not overbalance all possible or actual gain. Then further, unless there is some clear and unalloyed advantage to gain, it does seem hard, under the pressure there is now-a-days on too many women, and the great dearth they find of becoming occupations, to take away what may be fairly claimed as their own.

But leaving this question, and returning to the

detail of what has been done: in the year 1863 application was made to the Oxford delegacy and the Cambridge syndicate for conducting the examination of students not members of the universities, to know whether girls could be admitted to the examinations, in places where local committees would undertake to provide properly for their reception. The answer was the only one that could be given, viz., that boys only were contemplated in the scheme, and that before it could be extended to girls, the matter must be brought formally and in a public manner before the universities. But the Cambridge examination for that year was approaching, and with the help of the London local committee for Cambridge, arrangements were made for conducting an examination of girls, at the expense and under the responsibility of a committee of ladies, simply as an experiment; and the syndicate were asked to allow the girls to use the examination papers prepared for the boys, and to submit them to the university examiners. The reply to this request was that 'the syndicate have agreed to provide extra copies of the examination papers, and to direct their examiner in London

to give these out to some responsible person appointed by your committee, on each occasion after he shall have given them out to the boys. The syndicate decline to *order* the examiners in the various subjects to look over the answers of the girls, but leave it to your committee to make what arrangements you please with the examiners.' Of course no difficulty was raised in that quarter. Notice was given of the examination to school-mistresses and others likely to send in girls. Although scarcely six weeks were left for preparation, eighty-three girls presented themselves. The result was completely successful. In all the subjects they took in they acquitted themselves quite as creditably as the boys, arithmetic alone excepted. That they should fail in arithmetic was not only to be expected, but inevitable. Besides the fact that arithmetic is more difficult to girls than boys, it is likely that their teachers, generally speaking, never dreamed of the precision and facility in working sums required to pass an examination in this subject with credit. Even with teachers of boys the same was in some degree the case at first. The proportion of boys rejected in arithmetic was much

greater in 1858 than in 1863, and the improvement was very gradual from year to year. Our space does not permit us to make quotations from the very interesting report issued by the ladies committee on the occasion, and it is the less needful, as it still may easily be procured, and is worth perusal. Encouraged by this success, the committee proceeded to draw up a memorial to the universities, asking formally for the admission of girls to the examinations. It was signed by no less than a *thousand* teachers, besides many distinguished persons interested in the subject, and then sent to the vice-chancellors of either university. Of course there was great diversity of opinion. Outside the universities the proposal was met with a good deal of ridicule, of no account except that it was, in several cases, of a nature to be insulting to the feelings of women. Within Cambridge itself—and we believe the same to have been the case at Oxford—there was nothing of this kind. Indeed, the memorial was listened to in the fairest spirit on all hands. The opponents of the measure appear chiefly to have been influenced by two considerations: first, that it would injure the prosperity of

the boys examinations, and secondly, that they could not be conducted in such a manner as to be profitable to the girls themselves. All expressed willingness to do whatever could be shown to be proper for the university to do with due consideration for all the interests involved. In short, the question was met in the spirit in which it might be expected to be met by educated men who knew what they owed to mothers, sisters, or wives. Its supporters, on the other hand, seemed to attribute much weight to the argument of the memorial, that women strongly felt the want of some outward standard by which to test the value of their work ; and that, if the universities refused to help them in this particular, there appeared to be no body existing, or likely to be created, in the country to which they could apply. The truth of this allegation is apparent enough. There is probably nothing in which girls have been worse treated than their examinations at the end of the school year. They are in most cases a mere display, ending with a flourish of trumpets at the breaking-up party. There lies before us a report of the examination of a large girls school. It is one chorus of praises

from end to end. One examiner finds that 'though the inspection of instructional results only was our province, yet moral characteristics are constantly and clearly revealed in the course of intellectual operations.' He proceeds to 'hazard the opinion' that in Miss X.'s establishment 'headwork is not neglected, yet does not monopolize too exclusive an interest; or rather, perhaps, that it is so conducted as to promote the still higher objects of our being.' Then he finds the style of the girls English 'clear, simple, vigorous, and expressive.' But he rises to his highest ecstasies at the *vivâ voce*:—

'Speaking generally, the intelligence, the readiness, the abundance of information, the simple, natural, and clear statement of what was known, and the not less straightforward admission of what was not known—the sustained interest throughout a long course of questioning and cross-questioning, made it altogether a pleasure to do what is often sufficiently irksome, to go on formulating a string of questions for hours together.

Happy examiner! and assuredly most wonderful pupils! We apprehend that the reports of the local examinations are not likely to approach such fine writing as this, or to bestow any such sounding praises. Nor do we believe that girls are so wanting in common sense as to wish it. Their

feelings appear to be truly stated by Mr. Plumptre. Speaking of the error of the outside public in thinking the 'predominant motive of girls in wishing for examinations to be that they may obtain some material benefit either as governesses or in some other position in which they want a testimonial to fall back upon,' he proceeds :—

‘ My belief is that this motive forms a subordinate element in the desire of the girl to be examined. I have watched the progress of these things, and I find that those who most desire to do well are not those who are trying to gain certificates of competency for any professional purpose, but those who are looking forward to a life of private usefulness. They desire knowledge and self-knowledge for their own sakes. They wish their knowledge not to be hollow, superficial, or merely ornamental, but solid and substantial.’

That these words express the true state of the case may be inferred not merely from observation of facts, but from the slightest knowledge of the feminine character. There is nothing a woman, at any rate a young woman, of more than the shallowest capacity detests more than a sham ; and of all shams, the language of untrue compliment is most offensive to her, for the very reason that her nature teaches her to covet the approval and praise of men, and sharpens her to be keen in detecting

the false ring of flattery. Another consideration that probably weighed much with the promoters of the scheme was a deep conviction that the university is fully as much interested in the proper education of the youth of the country in their own homes, and in their earliest years, as in the schools she examines. ¶ Therefore they maintain she is by no means stepping out of her proper province in anything she can do to cherish and promote the good nurture of future wives and mothers. The issue of the affair was, that while Oxford rejected the scheme altogether, Cambridge accepted it by way of trial for a period of three years. Various rules were laid down to insure the proper conduct of the examination at every place in which it might be held. It is to be entirely managed by ladies. No list of names is to be published ; but every girl who passes with credit will receive a certificate signed by the Vice-Chancellor, and if she succeeds in distinguishing herself in any subject, it will be mentioned in that document. One examination has been already held. One hundred and thirty-one girls presented themselves at six places—London, Brighton, Bristol, Cambridge, Manchester,

and Sheffield. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the way in which the week of examination passed off. The reports of the local examiners were quite uniform on this point. The local ladies committees had done their work exceedingly well. Every arrangement had been made for the comfort and privacy of the girls. They had themselves been quiet, punctual, and industrious, and had strictly attended to the regulations in every particular. Their papers were sent up in fully as good order as those of the boys. This of itself is a most important result, and will, it is hoped, convince many of those who doubted whether an examination of girls could be suitably conducted. We believe the same is found to be the case by the University of Edinburgh. There too girls as well as boys are admitted to the local examinations held by the university, and we believe with the same encouraging experience. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that there is nothing to apprehend on that score. At the same time, the unprecedented increase in the number of boys—nearly fifty per cent. on last year—altogether puts an end to the fears some entertained, that the

admission of girls might make the examinations unpopular with them.

The general result of the examination was as follows : Out of eighty senior candidates, five were absent, twenty-eight failed, forty-seven passed, of whom eight obtained marks of special distinction. Of fifty one juniors, nine failed, one was absent, forty-one passed, of whom six gained distinctions. We subjoin a few details that may interest the reader, referring him for fuller information to the elaborate report and tables published by Messrs. Rivington. We take those in which women are most concerned. In arithmetic, so disastrous in 1863, when out of forty senior candidates thirty-four failed in that subject, this year only one senior and two juniors were rejected. Only one senior and two juniors failed in geography; one junior and no senior in history. Indeed, the aggregate of failures on the whole very much surprised the examiners, each of whom, excepting those in religious knowledge, seemed to have few in his own department. It appears to have arisen chiefly from the girls not understanding clearly that, in order to pass on the whole, they must pass

respectably in at least two or three sections. The average marks obtained were extremely creditable, and some girls got high numbers. Thus one got six-sevenths of the full amount in history, another four-fifths in geography. But they were most fortunate in Shakespeare's 'Tempest.' On this play, a paper was set well adapted to test the soundness of such knowledge as youths might be expected to possess not merely of that, but of other plays of Shakespeare, and of the English tongue. About thirty girls tried it; almost all with credit to themselves, some very successfully, and one succeeded in attaining a higher proportion of the full marks than any of her competitors of either sex—seventy-two per cent.

In religious knowledge the girls were not so successful as their work in 1863 led us to expect. Of the seniors twenty-five, of the juniors eight, failed in this section. Only one succeeded in distinguishing herself. The examiners reported that their knowledge of Scripture was, generally speaking, good, but that they appeared to have been very imperfectly instructed in the other subjects, particularly the Liturgy. Fourteen altogether took

in Latin. The examiners speak of the remarkable accuracy of their work, and say that it will bear comparison with that of the boys. In French, as might be expected, the girls distinguished themselves. Their average performances were good ; many obtained marks of special credit, and one got seven-eighths of the whole number, the highest point reached by any one. Thirty-four went in for drawing. Of one the examiner reports that 'she excelled all other candidates in the colour sketch, which was admirable, as was also her model drawing.' Several other girls also obtained marks of distinction. One regrets that so few girls attempted botany, and none with much success. It is to be hoped that more of them will turn their minds to this ladylike accomplishment, and will attend to the sensible remark of the examiner in the subject, that the students 'appeared to derive their knowledge from manuals, and not the study of nature.' Botany can only be learned in the fields. In music rather more than half the girls who went in did their work creditably, of whom five distinguished themselves. Here we will close the list. Enough has been said to convince the

reader that girls are taught better than he perhaps thought, and that examinations of this sort, as is shown in the noteworthy instance of arithmetic, do at least bring out weak points in teaching, and in some cases lead the way to amendment. We will only add that it is heartily to be wished that the boys may in future imitate their sisters in one particular, their good English. Their answers were almost without exception straightforward and to the point, clearly stated, and without any attempts at fine writing; while at the same time, many of them gave sure promise of that pretty quickness of wit which is one of the brightest charms of a gentlewoman.

II.

SINCE, by the kindness of the editor of this *Review*, space was given in it for an account of the general results of the Local Examinations for girls held in December, 1865, the movement has gone on and prospered. In December, 1866, 197 girls presented themselves, of whom 18 obtained honours, and 108 ordinary certificates. If the number of those who gain honours seem small, it must be remembered that girls seldom attempt either the classical or mathematical papers, without which it is not easy to reach the honour lists. That they did well in such subjects as fell within their compass may be judged from the fact that 42 girls obtained marks of distinction. Many of the strongest adversaries to the scheme have come

round, and now give it effective support. At Oxford, although the expected renewal of the proposal to admit girls to their examinations appears to have fallen through, we believe that it is looked upon with a more favourable eye, and will eventually be carried. At all events we do not believe that the rejection is due to fear of ridicule.* For in the course of the last two or three years public opinion has so far gone in the right direction that the claims of women to consideration are everywhere listened to with respect. Even newspaper writers, almost always the last to use a manly tone towards women, have begun to see that men like the polished and gentlemanlike essayist who talks of 'fillies entered for the matrimonial stakes of the

* We think the writer of the review of Miss Davies's 'Higher Education of Women,' which appeared in Vol. iv. p. 286 of this *Review*, was mistaken in saying that the dread of banter nearly led to the rejection of the scheme at Cambridge. It would be sad indeed to be forced to acknowledge that banter went for argument in a place like this. Could scoffing prevail in an English university against a cry from women, 'Come over and help us,' where are they to look for sympathy? The present writer was however on the spot, and took a good deal of pains to ascertain the grounds on which the opposition rested. As far as he could find out, it was in almost all cases due to doubts whether the admission of girls to public examinations would prove for their advantage. Where he has had the opportunity of inquiring the reason of change of opinion, the reply has invariably been that these doubts have been removed by the efficiency of the checks and safeguards provided against possible evils.

season ' had better hold their tongues. We apprehend, therefore, that there must be weightier reasons than this to hold Oxford back—reasons such as, while we may think them mistaken, command our respect.

Yet notwithstanding some favourable signs in the horizon, no man who has any regard for the welfare of his kind can look on the condition of women in general without some very sad forebodings. To carry our eyes no farther than our own shores, there is much in the condition of English-women which ought to be distressing and humiliating to men. If great efforts have been made of late years to lessen some of the cruellest of their wrongs, others even more formidable seem to spring up in their place. Among these we cannot help classing the growing carelessness with which women appear to treat unchastity in men. If it be true, for we certainly did not see it with our own eyes, that a few months ago a peer of exalted rank brought a woman of bad character to the Opera, and left her side to go and speak to honest women occupying a box within full view of that in which she was sitting, we venture to call it a sign of the

times of no ordinary import. It is, at least, undeniable that women, young and maiden, are not only aware but speak openly of base connexions formed by their male acquaintance, or by men of notoriety in the world, with an absence of reticence, if not of ignorance, heretofore in our time unknown. Be it remembered that in saying this we are finding fault not with women, but men. When women are placed in the midst of a profligate male society their choice lies between solitude and the knowledge, even the condonation, of much that is revolting to their minds. With this alternative before them, who can wonder if nature carries the day? Then the inequality of numbers of the sexes is a daily increasing element of misery. Great throughout the country, it is in some districts enormous. We know of one in which the proportion of women to men was, at the last census, as 126.5 to 100. The story is everywhere the same—the men emigrate, the women stay at home. The bare figures show the existence of great distress among women. A close examination would, we are convinced, largely raise our estimate of it. For we believe that the overplus would be found to be far greater in the

class of those whom, for want of a better term of distinction, we will call *ladies*, than any other—precisely that where maintenance by their own labour is most difficult to find. Probably nothing at this moment would work such wide and lasting good to the human race as a scheme sufficiently well organized to overcome the natural reluctance of women to leave home and country, and calculated to induce well-educated ladies to seek new hearths in those distant, yet sunny and fertile lands, where their presence would of all blessings be most welcome. Other evils there are specially affecting women too conspicuous and notorious to need recapitulation. Any day's *Times* will place them with terrible clearness before the eyes of the most hasty reader. Let us pass rather to the subject which stands at the head of this paper, not indeed with any vain hope of finding a panacea for the evil of our day, but with an expectation, we trust well founded, of finding a way to render useful help.

In speaking of the education of women we are met with a difficulty, raised by some of themselves, which we certainly should not have anticipated. No doubt the great end of all education, whether of

boys or girls, is best stated in the words of the catechism, 'that they may do their duty in that state of life to which it hath pleased God to call them.' But a part even of their duty to God is to get their own living in the world in which He has placed them. In speaking of education, this temporal part of it is not only kept in view, but, on ordinary occasions, naturally and necessarily occupies the foremost place. It by no means follows from this that it occupies the foremost place in the care and thought of the speaker. The Scotch saying, 'The mair kirks the mair sin,' is true in a good many ways. There are times, no doubt, when the highest view of education should be earnestly and fervently pressed. But under ordinary circumstances we should have far more faith in a father who, having many sons, talked of bringing them up to be lawyers, soldiers, merchants, than one whose speeches always ended up with God and their country. We do not love these perpetual protestations. In speaking then of the education of boys, we should be content, except on very fit occasions, to talk of bringing them up to some temporal calling, no matter what. Just so, as the days are happily not yet come in which

many girls start in life with the expectation of supporting themselves in perpetual maidenhood, or of having not only to bear, but find bread for, their children, we should talk of bringing up girls to be good wives and mothers, being quite certain that this implies the right way of teaching a girl how to do her duty to God and man, even though she never become either one or the other. But if women who write fairly represent the feelings of their sex, this way of talking displeases them. Thus one lady exclaims—

‘I do not believe that women are to be “educated to be wives and mothers” in any sense in which it is not equally imperative to educate boys to be husbands and fathers. I believe that each human being, developed to his or her best and utmost, will most perfectly fulfil the duties that God may appoint in each case ; and if teachers and parents have ever before their eyes the aim of making good, true, and sensible women, I do not fear but they will also train the best wives and mothers.’

Nobody doubts it. But we repeat that one may be just as conscious of this truth as the writer of those words, and yet talk of bringing up girls to be good wives and mothers, and boys not indeed to be good husbands and fathers, but good lawyers, doctors, officers, tradesmen, and what not. She does not observe that people who use these phrases have

in view at the time only the temporal ends of education ; that is, in the plain phrase of the liturgy, how boys and girls may learn and labour truly to get their own living. Now boys seldom get their living by becoming husbands and fathers, while women do commonly owe theirs to being wives and mothers. The home cares which these words represent are the return they make—surely a most honourable one—for the bread their husbands go abroad to win. If such cares are the counterpart of the out-o'-door callings of men, we do not see how it can be wrong, in speaking of the temporal side of girls education, to press its fitness for the future discharge of those cares. We should have passed over the matter in silence, content to use our own discretion in treating of the subject in hand, were it altogether indifferent. But it is not so. For it is quite possible, and very often happens, that the frequent or untimely expression of one's inner thoughts on a matter of this kind may sink into mere buncombe—one of the most mischievous forms of the breach of the third commandment. It is akin to the error Hooker pointed out in the Puritans, who would have had men not pick up a

straw but in God's name, and is capable of doing a good deal of mischief.

Indeed, the monstrous rubbish which has been written about the position and education, as well as the social and political dependence of women, forms one of the greatest difficulties which those who would fain improve their condition have to encounter. Right or wrong, the fact is that, as things are, such improvement cannot be achieved without the consent and active help of men. Now very few men, it is certain, are at heart indifferent to the welfare of their sisters. But they mostly have much to do, and cannot go deeply into the question. The one thing they know for certain about it is that, unless managed with great care and judgment, our attempts at improvement may do infinitely more harm than good. It is no wonder then if, when they read the wild discourses of some lady writers, they hold back in alarm. Some of these writers, we are told, have gone so far as to denounce the bond of marriage as a piece of masculine tyranny. Unfortunately unbridled talk of this kind is blazed everywhere abroad by the idle gossip of society, while the voice of sense and

reason is comparatively little heard. Take as an example the question of the franchise. The sort of talk which men commonly hear about it is pretty fairly represented by such words as these —

‘The assertion that married women are not taxed can only mean that they do not possess property. Then the argument amounts to this—the law made by man arbitrarily withholds from woman the power of possessing property; those should not be represented who do not possess property; therefore married women should not be represented.’

A man reading this, and knowing that married women by help of the law can, and very often do, possess property, and that such property is taxed, and that therefore nobody with a head on his shoulders could ever have made any such assertion, very naturally cries ‘Stuff,’ and flings the book aside.* Wrong, perhaps, but he does. For as there are, unhappily, but six or eight working hours in the day, a man cannot fully inform himself on every subject, and must leave a good many—no unimportant ones either—to take care of themselves. We entertain no doubt, however, that

* Would it not be possible to circulate in a separate form Mrs. Boucherett’s paper on the ‘Condition of Women in France’ (*Contemporary Review*, May 1867), which contains some instructive, and, in view of our leap into the dark of ochlocracy, most convincing remarks on the ruinous consequences to women of semi-universal suffrage?

whatever plans or changes can be shown to be for the clear and certain advantage of women, and are temperately and fairly placed before the minds of such men as have it in their power to promote them, will, in the long run, be carried, and in the faith of this, notwithstanding some discouragements, it is safe to go forward.

On the other hand, it must be owned that if women have given way to foolish talk about what they conceive to be women's rights, there has been talk equally foolish and much more abounding on the part of men concerning what they conceive to be women's duties. When we read Miss Davies's citations of what men say about women ('Higher Education of Women,' pp. 24—34), we scarcely wonder at the dash of bitterness which flavours her two opening chapters. Yet, with the words of Shakespeare and Tennyson in her ears, Miss Davies might well have condescended to treat 'Jane' and the other fry as Queen Elizabeth did the bear-ward's petition—silently drop them into Lethe.*

* We must express our regret that in speaking of those who let the 'conception of character which rests on the broad basis of a common humanity fall into the background, and substitute for it a dual theory with distinctly different forms of male and female excellence,' Miss

It should be borne in mind, too, that the subject involves some peculiar difficulties, particularly in regard to education. Men can manage their own political, social, and educational affairs without appealing to women; but women cannot stir a step without invoking the counsel and guidance of men. Not a single book or paper that has been written, in the various discussions of the day, on any subject connected with the welfare of women, fails to acknowledge this explicitly or implicitly in almost every page; so that in matters of themselves sufficiently difficult to deal with prudently,

Davies should go on to say, 'Closely connected with these separatist doctrines is the double moral code, with its masculine and feminine virtues, and its separate law of duty and honour for either sex.' Where is this double moral code to be found? A man may very well broach 'certain doctrines—such as that the man is intended for the world, woman for the home; man's strength is in the head, woman's in the heart,' &c.—without being guilty of any error greater than that of expressing some very obvious truths in a somewhat exaggerated form, and certainly without the least propensity to advocating a 'double moral code.' Indeed, whatever may be the errors of modern practice, there are now-a-days very few men who think at all who would not vigorously reiterate the old paradoxical advice, 'Let men be chaste and women brave.' But this is the only fault we have to find with Miss Davies's book, which seems to us calculated to do very great good, and we wish it may find its way into every household where there are sons and daughters. In particular, we wish young men could be induced to read it. Indifference to the society of women is one of the most repulsive faults of the young men of the day. They rarely seem to think it any part of their duty to give up the employment, or even the whim of the moment, for the help or entertainment of mother and sisters and their companions. Yet surely if it is part of women's business in the world to please men, it is quite as much a part of men's to please women.

we have the added difficulty of difference of sex. However careful we may be to keep a firm footing on the 'broad basis of common humanity' in our reasonings, depend upon it this will be always found a seriously disturbing element. In education, above all, it is a hard matter to keep a right course. The wisest and most prudent men find it far from easy to educate boys successfully. How often have the most earnest and honest teachers cause to wring their hands in grief at the evil fruit that springs up from what they had vainly hoped to be good seed scattered on good ground! Yet in dealing with boys men know tolerably well the nature of the material they have in hand. Not so with girls. Only a woman can enter thoroughly into a girl's heart. The position, therefore, in which men are placed in regard to the education of women is this, that they must be something more than merely interested lookers-on, and must not merely lend it the aid of thought and advice, but take some active share in it, yet to a great extent be working in the dark, and have many reasons for wariness which may be neglected in handling boys. Probably, if it were possible, the

best thing men could do would be to take no personal share in the business, to provide women with schools and colleges fit for the education of their daughters, officer them with cultivated ladies equal in position and acquirements. to professors and tutors in the Universities, and leave them to themselves. But it is useless to shadow forth such a scheme unless for Utopia.

It seems to us then that the wisest course men can pursue is to see what has been done in other times, or is now doing in other countries, in educating girls ; above all, to examine what are the demands of women themselves. After all, they must know best what is good for them, and as the feverish activity of the press now-a-days gives everybody a chance of being heard, there can be no difficulty in finding out what they wish, nor much probably in sifting out the chaff from what is reasonable and likely to be of service.

In our former paper on the subject we tried to show that the education of women must have been an object of careful solicitude to the wisest men in all ages. We did not succeed, however, in tracing the methods they used, or caused to be used, nor

do we believe it to be now possible to do so. We can only infer the fact from the illustrious history of women. But past ages have certainly not left us in the dark as to the ideal we are to work up to. Miss Davies makes a timely appeal to Scripture and the teaching of the Churches of England and Scotland on this head :—

‘People,’ she says, ‘who go to church, and who read their Bibles, are perpetually reminded of one type and exemplar, one moral law. The theory of education of our English Church recognizes no distinction of sex. The baptized child is signed with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he—or she—shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under His banner against sin, the world, and the devil ; and to continue Christ’s faithful soldier and servant to his—or her—life’s end. . . . The Shorter Catechism [Scotch] teaches that God created man, male and female, after his own image, in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness, with dominion over the creatures, and that man’s chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever.’

The women, too, who live for us in the pages of Scripture completely bear out the theory of the essential equality of both sexes of the human race. Miriam, Hannah, Elizabeth, had as clear and proper a share in carrying out the counsels of God as Moses, Samuel, and the Baptist. The value of the crowning example of Mary is lost through the

uncomely figment of her married virginity dissociating her in people's minds from the rest of her sex. The part they play is not subordinate to, but different from, that of men. It is by comparison not indeed secluded—for they lived lives open for all the world to see—but sedentary and silent, for they rarely left their homes, or gave voice in song or prayer to the thoughts of their hearts. What is more than all, the life of our Lord is in every single particular, except His public preaching, a model for women quite as much as for men. Nor does He anywhere give the least hint that their obedience and agency are of less importance to His work than that of the other sex. Indeed we find Him frequently taking opportunities of noticing their presence, and assuring them, mostly by acts rather than words, of His equal solicitude for their temporal and spiritual welfare, as well as indicating to them what they were to do for Him. It is plain from many passages in the New Testament that His immediate followers and the first preachers of His Gospel regarded the agency of women as a necessary part of the Christian ministry. It must be owned that the Church of Rome has never lost

sight of this truth, and in trying to reintroduce women into the ministry of the Church of England, the most protestant of us are forced to turn our eyes Romeward for guidance. If we turn to the annals of heathendom, women are found side by side with men wherever they sought to keep alive a spark of judgment, mercy, or truth. Women, therefore, bear the stamp of God's image to the full as clearly as men ; and if any one ask for an ideal of feminine excellence, we need only refer him to that image seen in perfection, that is to say, to the Man Christ Jesus.

If then the past does not give much help towards the methods of educating women, it does us the great service of showing us a standard to work up to. Whatever may be the difference in their physical and intellectual powers and functions, our object must be to place them as moral and spiritual beings on perfect equality with men. With this explicit statement of our views we shall leave this part of the subject, not wishing to meddle with that highest department of education which goes on at home and in church. But if, in speaking of the physical and intellectual training of

girls, we confine ourselves to temporal matters, we hope it will be understood that we do not forget the important influence this training has on their moral and spiritual development.

With regard to the physical training of girls, we believe England has little or nothing to learn from other countries. Nowhere are they placed, as far as their bodily strength permits it, on such a perfect footing of equality with men; nowhere, again, are greater pains taken to keep them from overtaxing that bodily strength. Custom allows Englishwomen more freedom in out-door exercises than is granted to those of any other country. They walk, ride, drive, dance, play games, both like and with their brothers. In this respect, at any rate, the restraints of conventional decorum are in England only such as nature would impose. These being observed—and provided she does not attempt exercises which demand too severe a tension of her muscles; that is to say, if she will content herself, for example, with croquet and archery, leaving guns and cricket bats to the stronger sex, and if she will not ride after the hounds without father, brother, or husband to

attend her—an English lady may enjoy sun and air much as she pleases. On the other hand, in no country has the legislature so honestly and diligently sought to defend women and children against the cruelty of men, especially against oppression on the part of the employers of labour. Scarcely a session has passed by for many years without some law being enacted for their protection in this particular. At this very time a commission is on foot with a view to legislation on the subject of agricultural gangs. We must say we think this side of the question is too much lost sight of by ladies who are prominent as champions of their sex. Their writings are little else than bills of complaint from the first to the last page. They speak for the most part as if women were deliberately oppressed by men through a selfish fear of being outstript or even driven altogether out of the field. That this is nowhere the case we are not prepared to say ; we fear that it is conspicuously so in France at this moment. But as far as England and America are concerned, we do emphatically deny it. Whatever restraints or disabilities are in these countries maintained or newly

imposed, we believe to be due, almost without exception, to a desire to do what is best for women. No doubt some of them may be mistaken, or rather imperfectly attain their object. But that is only saying they are human ; and nothing appears to our mind more alarming in the crapulous outcry for reform we hear on all sides, especially in respect of education, than the apparent unwillingness to acknowledge the inevitable errors and shortcomings of all human schemes. On the whole, we repeat that English law and custom are favourable to women. Take for example the laws affecting marriage. Keeping within that over-care which, as in France, defeats its own object by imposing an intolerable yoke, they yet shield women as far as possible from the dangers of haste and inexperience until they are old enough to take care of themselves. That for all this there should be ample scope for cruelty, oppression, and wrong in the relations of men to women, is inevitable. Laws, powerful as they are for mischief, can do very little good in that or any other department of human affairs ; least of all can they hinder the bitter fruits of unbridled folly and passion, nurtured by

bad homes and profligate society. It is as much as can be looked for if they protect those who are willing to be protected. Certainly, as far as the physical well-being of women is concerned, the temper of the English, and, as far as we know, of the American legislature, has been at once kind and prudent—desirous, on the one hand, to protect them as the weak against the strong, and, on the other hand, not to carry that protection so far as to turn it into repression.

However the real battle-field is on the ground of intellectual training. Here no doubt women have a good deal of reason to complain. For many years past, except in the highest ranks of society and a few enlightened households in humbler life, very little care or thought has been vouchsafed to the education of daughters. How far we have strayed in this respect from the path of our ancestors is well indicated where we should perhaps least expect to find it—namely, in farmhouses. Farmers assuredly are not given to innovation. In many, perhaps most, parts of the country, they go on much as their great-grandfathers did. Even railroads do not tempt them to

travel much farther than to market.* Now farmers almost always spend more money on the bringing up of their daughters than of their sons. Often the girls are sent 'to boarding-school,' as the goodwife will tell one with no little pride, while the boys pay the quarterly crown, instead of the weekly twopence of labourers children, to him of the village. Very often, it is to be feared, the girls do not bring much home from their boarding-school beyond a smattering of showy accomplishments. But that is not the farmer's fault. Give him a good school to send his girls to, and he is not such a fool as to prefer a bad one. True, he is not often a good judge of results, and will perhaps, at first, be inclined to like the tinsel better than the pure gold, but his eyes will soon be opened to the truth. However, this is not to our present

* For instance, in the summer of 1864, on a visit at a country parsonage, we chanced to be at a loss about the time a particular train was to start, and went to the house of a neighbour to borrow a *Bradshaw*. One was forthwith hunted up and produced—dated 1848! We saw the good folks were so utterly unconscious of the absurdity, that we made no remark, pretended to consult it, and wished them good morning.

purpose. What we desire to remark is that the farmer, in trying to educate his girls, is probably doing what his forefathers have done for years, perhaps centuries past. Clergy again—likewise apt to be staunch adherents to old customs and ways—often take great pains in teaching their daughters. Many of them are among the most earnest and efficient supporters of the local examinations. It is fair, however, to add that clergy, in matters where they can see their way to useful results, are, in a multitude of cases, the most eager innovators. Indeed, nothing can be more mistaken than the common habit of massing together the clergy as taking any particular line on any question. In most secular, and more theological discussions than laymen imagine, they are exceedingly independent of each other. Still when Mr. Trollope makes Mr. Crawley teach his daughters Latin, Greek, and mathematics, he is true to the life of many a secluded English parsonage whither newspapers and reviews or modern opinions in any shape rarely find their way. So that on the whole we have rather gone back than forward. Not that the point is of much consequence, except to

convince some that the doctrine that girls should be taught as well as boys is at all events not new-fangled. The fact remains, that at this moment few English girls get anything like the same measure of pains and cost bestowed on their education that is laid out on that of their brothers; and that those who desire to change, and, as they believe, amend this state of things, encounter very considerable opposition. We must own however that, as we have already hinted, this opposition is becoming daily more insignificant. Were it possible to search into it thoroughly, we believe that most frequently, and especially where it is loudest, it proceeds either from teachers who have no great reason to be confident in the results of their teaching, or parents who are not disposed to encounter the expense of giving their daughters a sound education. We should be inclined to treat both these classes with some tenderness. Ladies who entered the profession of teaching with old-fashioned views of what was sufficient for girls to learn must find it hard to encounter a changed world. Again, while it is every day easier to make a certain amount of social display, it is growing

harder and harder for people in modest circumstances to do well by their children. So we do not care if the change comes slowly, provided it come well. Indeed, we know not whether we ought not to be grateful to the opposition which enforces slow progress ; for it is very far from easy to lay down what is the best course to adopt to secure the improvement we desire.

Certainly we venture to think that the University of Cambridge, in extending the Local Examinations to girls, took what was for them the best possible first step. It matches them with boys, spreads a large field of study before them, while at the same time it completely screens them from publicity ; and should it be found not to answer, it can be withdrawn without the smallest loss or injury to any one. The public are, perhaps, not generally aware how ample that field is. Every student is required to satisfy the examiners in reading aloud, spelling, writing, the rudiments of arithmetic, grammar, geography, English history, and, except in case of a written objection sent in by parents or guardians, of the Christian faith. How great an improvement has been achieved in

these elements of knowledge may be in some degree estimated from the single fact that whereas in 1858 about 10 per cent. of the whole number of candidates (then boys only) were rejected by the examiners in arithmetic alone, in 1865 scarcely more than 1 per cent. failed in that subject. Then follow a number of sections out of which each student must choose two or three, and is forbidden to attempt more than five or six. These include more advanced papers in the preliminary subjects, English composition, Latin, Greek, French, German, pure mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, zoology, botany, geology, heat, magnetism, electricity, music, geometrical drawing, drawing from the flat, from models, in perspective, and imitative colouring. Let us add, for the benefit of that ignorant part of the public which loves to be called practical, that the art of land surveying belongs to trigonometry, which is included under pure mathematics, and that engineers are taught by mechanics or applied mathematics how to measure and use forces, and we think Mr. Ewart himself would scarcely find any subject to add to this list.

The distinguishing characteristics of the girls

work, as compared with the boys, are narrowness of range and goodness of quality. Last year few of them took in the full number of sections allowed, while 21·3 per cent. of them against 13·3 per cent. of the boys obtained marks of distinction in one or more subjects. Now examiners are instructed for the Syndicate to award such marks 'not for comparative merit shown by one candidate with respect to another, but for really sound knowledge of the subject, so far as the examination tests it.'

It should be remarked however that at present only picked girls are, as a rule, sent in, while many schoolmasters send up boys in whole classes—a practice excellent from many points of view, and from none more than as showing that they take equal pains with all their scholars. In English, French, and German, the girls, as might be expected, were signally successful. Few attempted Latin and Greek. We looked with some curiosity to the result; for we never could see any *à priori* reason why girls should not learn these tongues. Women, we apprehend, contributed their share towards forming them, and millions upon millions of women spoke them in their day. The New

Testament is addressed to women as much as to men, and it is of no less advantage to them to read it in the language in which it was written. The point seems to us one purely of taste and expediency. In 1865 no girl tried Greek, but twelve took up Latin. In 1866 Greek was attempted by three, Latin by fifteen girls. The judgment of the examiners is in general that they show a very fair appreciation of a work they have read, and can translate it into very good idiomatic English ; but that they fail in grammar, and in translating passages they have not seen before. In 1865 mathematics were tried by six girls, in 1866 by fifteen, with no great success, one senior girl excepted, who did singularly well.* Several did well in music, and a few in drawing. Contrary to our expectation, the natural sciences, in particular botany, do not seem attractive to girls any more than to boys, who as a general rule appear to hate them. We quite side with those who think this a pity, but it is a fact. We admit that the scheme has been in working too short a time to allow of

* She nearly cleared the paper on *Applied Mathematics*, getting full marks for every question she attempted.

any certain conclusions being drawn, but present results, so far as they go, incline us to think that there is no reason for shutting against girls any door of knowledge which is open to boys.

A further question arises on which there will probably be a very great difference of opinion. This is whether in learning boys and girls must be kept separate, or may work together in classes. Many persons will probably say that they ought not even to occupy separate rooms in the same building, but should be placed in different schools at least some furlongs apart.* Others may think that nature, as expressed in the homely Lancashire proverb, 'T'lasses always coom where t'lads are,' may after all not be a bad guide; and that a boy may grow up none the worse man for having sat side by side with a girl at his lesson. Perhaps it is a question on which it will be safest to appeal to experience for a decision.

* A boy who sent up an English essay in the Local Examination of 1865 informed the examiner that 'Mr. A's (his master's) school was next door to Miss B's,' and added that 'had they been farther apart, *the inmates of both houses might have been spared many scrapes.*' Let not however the separatists regard this as telling entirely in their favour. It might very well be argued that had boys and girls been taught together, they would not have sought forbidden communications.

In former days there appears to have been no unwillingness to allow boys and girls to work together. Most of the old foundation schools seem to have been established for the benefit of the *children* of the parish without distinction of sex. In a great many of them this has survived nearly, if not quite, to the present hour, only they are no longer frequented by the families of the parson or the squire. But a generation or two back, when in the remoter parts of the country travelling was costly and irksome, the little village school, endowed with its twenty, thirty, fifty acres of land—often, and very properly, an adjunct to the cure of souls—received within its walls all the young fry of the parish alike. If we are not mistaken, the school of a little village in Norfolk reckons Sir Robert Walpole among its past *alumni*. Within our own remembrance an earl of high lineage sent his children to the school of the parish in which he lived. In one school of some consideration the practice of teaching boys and girls together still survives. We refer to Rivington School, attached to St. John's College, Cambridge. The 'captain' of Rivington School, we were told by a fellow of

that college who was lately sent to examine it, proved to be a girl of sixteen. Next came a boy between fourteen and fifteen, then a girl again, and so forth. He discovered nothing which would lead him to desire a change ; on the contrary, he appeared to think the plan worked extremely well. In Scotland, if we are not mistaken, it is the ordinary rule. Cambridge has been applied to in two successive years to send examiners to a great Scotch college—the Dollar Institution, near Stirling—attended by more than five hundred boys and girls. The examiners speak highly of the school, and find no fault with the system of bringing boys and girls together. But it is to America that we must look for the widest induction of examples and the fullest information ; for in the United States not only are there a great number of schools and colleges of long standing for both sexes, but they have been lately visited and fully reported on by two independent observers. Mr. Fraser, sent by the Schools Inquiry Commission, visited many schools in the United States in the summer of 1865. Miss Sophia Jex Blake did the same in the autumn of the same year. Mr. Fraser's Report

has been printed by the Commissioners, and Miss Jex Blake has written a narrative of her trip in a small volume published by Messrs. Macmillan. Both give very ample accounts of various schools they visited ; both, it is clear, had thoroughly divested themselves of any prejudice against the bringing boys and girls together at school ; both, after producing such facts and arguments on the subject as were presented to their minds in the course of their respective journeys, review them at the close of their work. Neither ventures to give a very decided opinion. Miss Blake says :—

‘ With regard to the joint education of the sexes, I have endeavoured simply to ascertain facts, and am by no means sure of the existence of sufficient *data* whereon to found a just conclusion.’

But she appears to be inclined, on the whole, to look on it with favour. Thus we read :—

‘ As boys and girls have to live together in the family, and men and women in the world at large, it certainly seems that they ought to be able to pursue their common studies together ; and perhaps, if they did so, a much more healthy mutual relation would result than now exists.’

The American teachers whose opinions she had the opportunity of learning appear to entertain no

doubts on the question. One ground on which they found their judgment is, we apprehend, invincible—namely, that where provision for educating both sexes together is not made, the girls will go to the wall. But they support it on the further ground of its being to the moral advantage of both sexes. Thus Professor Fairchild of Oberlin, as quoted by Miss Blake, says :—

‘That society is most happy which conforms most strictly to the order of nature as indicated in the family relation, where brother and sister mutually elevate and restrain each other. . . . A school for young men becomes a community in itself, with its own standard of morality and its laws of honour ; but in a college for both sexes the student will find a public sentiment not so lenient as that of a community of associates needing the same indulgence.’

Miss Blake further tells us that the professor, speaking of the supposed danger of hasty attachments and marriages which may arise, remarks that—

‘There is something in the association of every-day life which appeals to the judgment rather than to the fancy, and that weeks and months of steady labour over the same problems, or at the same sciences, will not be more likely to create romances than casual meetings at fêtes and balls.’

We own there appears to us a good deal of force

in these arguments. Let us see what Mr. Fraser says :—

‘Very high authorities, founding themselves upon experience, maintain without hesitation or reserve the advantages of the system as it stands. That it has certain very manifest advantages I am not prepared to deny ; but as all results are but a balance of opposites, there are certain as manifest disadvantages which have to be reckoned and considered too. And there are high authorities on the other side. The great Athenian statesman, the great Christian teacher, appear to have formed different conceptions of a woman’s proper sphere in life ; and it is probable, therefore, that they would have formed different conceptions of the proper training of a girl. Even the French philosophical thinker (de Tocqueville) admits that “such an education is not without danger, and has a tendency to produce moral and cold women rather than tender and amiable wives.” And it may well be doubted whether He, who “at the beginning made them male and female,” did not also mark out for them in His purposes different, though parallel, *paths* through all their lives.’

So far nothing can be better. But when Mr. Fraser proceeds to say—

‘Their’ (the Americans) ‘conception of woman’s duties, and their ideal of womanly perfection, are probably different from ours. To them the Roman matron of the old republic is, perhaps, the type of female excellence ; to them self-reliance, fearlessness, decision, energy, promptitude, are perhaps the highest female qualities. To us the softer graces are more attractive than the sterner virtues ; our object is to train women, before anything and everything besides, for the duties of the home ; we care less in them for vigorous

intellects and firm purposes, and more for tastes which domesticate and accomplishments which charm'—

we confess he appears to us to shoot beside the mark. As far as the 'Roman matron of the old republic' is concerned, we know too little of that lady to be able to pronounce whether she either possessed the 'sterner virtues,' or was deficient in the 'softer graces.' We think, however, that there must have always been at Rome many dames worthy to rank with Tullia and Octavia in the tenderest feminine charms. Moreover Romans in the freedom and courtesy of their social intercourse with each other appear to us to bear a much closer resemblance to Englishmen than Americans. Indeed, if we have rightly understood Cicero and Horace, the terms on which a Roman gentleman lived with his friends have always appeared to us delightful. So we should be inclined to think the Roman mothers who taught them manners must have been far from wanting in womanly attractions. But this by-the-by. To return to the main point, we cannot help thinking that the balance between 'sterner virtues' and 'softer graces' has very little to do with the matter

in hand. To us a woman's life appears to be quite as serious as a man's, and to require quite as frequently and as largely all the help that experience, self-control, and good sense can give her. The only thing then we have to keep in view in the education of women is surely how they are best to live the life and fulfil the duties God has given them. To this even the 'tastes which domesticate, and accomplishments which charm,' must be so subordinate that, except just so far as they conduce to it, they ought to be thrown out of view altogether. Compared with this, the 'ideal of womanly perfection' men choose to frame for themselves is absolutely insignificant. And when Mr. Fraser in a note a little further on says:—

'I should have supposed, though I don't think we have quite hit it in England, that there was a mean between the "cloistral education of France" and the "democratic education of the United States." I quite feel that there is an indefinable something that makes a difference between the relationship of man and wife in America, and the relationship of man and wife in England. I do not mean that there is more mutual affection, or more mutual confidence, but there is a different *tone* in the intercourse. I think the secret of the difference lies in this, that the American husband has more respect for his wife's mind ;'—

his words sound to our ear like an acknowledgment

that the American has in his judgment fewer faults than the English system. We can ourselves give no opinion on the point, as we have never had the good fortune to know any American families. But we confess the passage above quoted in one respect astonished us not a little. We should have thought that most English husbands who were willing to be taught—that is to say, all worth thinking about—would have found their wives in many of the most important duties of life the best teachers—next to or equally with their mothers—they ever had, and therefore have at least as much respect as the men of any other nation for their minds. But let us see what are the educational results of the American plan. For even if a comparison of manners were more to the purpose than it is, we don't see that the difference, whatever there may be, between English and American ladies, depends so entirely upon school life as to be much in point. That, we conceive, springs at least as much from the difference of manners throughout society. But do women in America gain enough in knowledge and power to make it worth our while to change all our own customs? Here there appear to arise

very grave doubts. All authorities seem to say the girls do as well as the boys. Mr. Fraser writes :—

‘Some of the best mathematical teachers are women ; some of the best mathematical students are girls. Young ladies read Virgil and Cicero, Xenophon and Homer, as well (in every sense) as young gentlemen. In mixed high schools the number of female students generally preponderates, and they are found in examinations to carry off the largest proportion of prizes. In schools where I heard the two sexes taught or catechized together, I should myself have awarded to the girls the palm for quickness of perception and precision of reply. In no department of study which they pursued together did they not seem to me, as compared with their male competitors, fully competent to hold their own.’

So Miss Blake :—

‘The professor of Greek told me that he was unable to see much difference between the students of the two sexes : “But for the difference of voice, I should find it hard, or impossible, with my eyes shut, to tell one from the other. If I am to find a distinction, I may perhaps say that, speaking generally, the ladies have more intuitive quickness in construing, and earlier acquire elegance in composition ; while the gentlemen [in passing may we beg this republican professor, as well as his mathematical brother, to have nothing to say in future about ‘ladies’ and ‘gentlemen,’ but to be content with ‘girls’ and ‘boys?'] seem more able to seize on points touching the philosophy of the language. As regards power of attention and application, I have never remarked any difference, and the work done is usually about equal.”

Again—

‘The professor of mathematics said, “I have found the work done by ladies to be fully equal to that of the gentlemen—*fully*: and it has more than once occurred that the best scholar in my class was a lady. Ladies are generally the quickest at recitation, and will repeat long problems more accurately than most of the young men. I do not know that they have any counterbalancing defect. As to strength and power of application, I know that the advantage is said to lie with the men, but I have not found it so.’

But of what kind of work do these gentlemen speak? We confess we don’t feel much struck with mathematical instruction which attributes high value to ‘repeating long problems,’ or which, as we read in another place,—

‘Makes the pupils work most thoroughly, though not professing to carry them to so high a point as was attempted elsewhere; not, if I remember right, beyond a sort of summary of Euclid and quadratic equations.’

What a ‘summary of Euclid’ can be we cannot conceive. We fancy, however, that at Cambridge it would please the undergraduate better than the tutorial mind. Nor do we think that the lady ‘who stood,’ as a Mrs. Mann informs us, ‘before her classes solving the most difficult problems as if she had discovered them, and as if books had not yet been invented,’ would there get many pupils

among possible senior wranglers. They prefer teachers who can 'discover problems' for themselves. If she did, we fear it would be chiefly due to those 'feminine traits of character' in which we read she was 'as rare as in her intellectual cultivation.' We doubt even whether the fact that 'one of the most talented [we cannot help protesting against this horrible word—one might as well say *sovereigned, shillinged, napoleoned*] actuaries in the United States is a woman,' would carry much weight in favour of the professor's views with mathematical men.* In classics again, when Professor Fairchild tells us that 'proper discrimination will evade all difficulty ;' that 'such authors as Plato and Xenophon, Cicero and Tacitus—as noble and chaste as the entire range of literature

* Miss Blake relates an anecdote, which seems to us to throw considerable light on the state of mathematical teaching in American schools:—'The teacher will rapidly enunciate such a question as the following, and as her voice ceases some pupil will generally be ready with the answer:—"Take two; add one; cube; take away two; square; take away one; divide by two; subtract twelve; divide by fifteen; divide by ten; square, square, square. Miss Smith?" "Two hundred and fifty-six." "Right." And so on, just as quickly as voice can speak.' Miss Blake seems to have been much struck with this feat. So are we—with its utter uselessness, if no worse, to Miss Smith. This was at the school where there was a 'first-rate staff of most earnest lady teachers, whose actual erudition was almost overwhelming.' But their 'sheer learning,' whatever that may mean, seems to have 'co-existed with a very imperfect knowledge of English.'

affords—may be read in mixed classes without causing a blush,’ and serenely adds, ‘it might be well even in schools for young men to keep within such limits,’ we cannot help thinking, with all the respect due to the learned professor, that he must be talking about what he does not very well understand. We think he might find a good deal in his pet authors that would prove rather awkward to read among boys and girls together; and we should uncommonly like to know his views about Aristophanes. And when we hear from Mr. Fraser that the books used in American schools are mostly after the model of Mr. Anthon’s we ask for no more evidence. A good deal of the enthusiasm of the worthy professor must be simply ‘tall talk.’

Next, as to the effects on the bodies of girls. Students of either sex are, it is probable, less robust in America than in England. But Mr. Fraser leads us to think that girls especially suffer terribly from overwork. Thus he writes :—

‘There can be no doubt that everywhere, at least in the city schools, a severe strain is put upon the physical strength both of teachers and pupils, particularly in the girls schools. . . . I remember very distinctly in a New York school, at the close of one of those little addresses which, in my

capacity of a visitor, I was so often called upon to make in the schools, in which I had endeavoured to explain our English system, and had spoken of the growing prevalence of the opinion that five hours of study properly distributed over the day were as much as it was prudent to attempt to get out of young people between the ages of twelve and eighteen, a general sigh issued from the class of girls who had been listening to me, followed by the audible expression of a wish from several that the same opinion might begin to prevail there.'

Miss Blake seems a little reluctant to acknowledge any need for more care for girls in this particular than for boys. She says :—

'It seems to be proved that at least a considerable number of women can undertake and successfully complete the same course of study that is usual for men, and that without more apparent detriment to their health than students of the other sex.'

Again, with a fine sarcasm,—

'Experience seems, moreover, to furnish many warnings that in England at least it is not well for most girls between the ages of fifteen and twenty to work as hard as is supposed to be usual with their brothers ; though, by-the-by, how hard the boys really do study I do not know, occasional glimpses of results having made me a little sceptical on this point.'

Miss Blake does not appear to understand how the pressure of work increases as you go on. It is much like climbing up a mountain : for the first two

or three hours it is all very well ; after that the weaker members of the party begin to be what athletes call ‘pumped,’ and drop off. Only one here and there may boast—

‘Right up Ben Lomond can he press,
And not a sob his toil confess.’

Miss Blake very little knows, and we are quite certain very few women could bear, the strain of mind and body necessary to attain a good place in any Tripos. It is no argument to say that many men seem to do it with ease and pleasure. Look at their strength of build—of mind we mean rather than body, though the latter often goes with it—and see whether it is such as is likely to fall to a woman. Where, indeed, is there any experience which should induce us to think it desirable to carry the literary education of women in general to the same height as that of men? In what branch of the service of the Muses have they shown original power? In poetry and music at least they have had fully as good a chance as their brothers ; but who among women can be called, except according to the most moderate standard, either

poets or composers? On the whole, we cannot help thinking that the results of the Local Examinations, crude as they still are, lead us to a tolerably safe conclusion—viz., that up to a certain point, say about such as these examinations indicate, there is no reason why girls should not receive pretty much the same literary education as boys. Without going so far as to say that they ought to go to school together, we think it is fairly made out by experience that there is no reason to fear evil from such association, and much reason to hope for benefit to both sexes. Of one thing we entertain no doubt, namely, that not only boys and girls, but men and women, live too little together in England just now. How this is to be amended is another question. If a change in the habits of school can help to bring it about, so much the better; but we are bound to concede at once that it is a subject on which it is absurd to attempt to dogmatize. Taste and even prejudices must be consulted, and an improvement can only come to pass *si volet usus*. But after the limit of rudimentary education is passed, we see nothing to induce us to alter the opinion we have always entertained;

that is, that studies conducted together will, generally speaking, be injurious to both. No doubt there are girls—though we believe comparatively few*—who are willing and able to carry their studies further. For these we conceive no better plan could be devised than one which we hear is already on foot. We advert to the project of building a college within a convenient distance of London for girls of sixteen and upwards. If it be true, as it is alleged to be, that endowments intended for the *youth* of many parishes have been seized for boys only, this fact would constitute a fair claim on the country for the building and support of such a college. On the side of this allegation of the ladies, let us turn to an American decision cited by Mr. Fraser :—

‘In *Nelson v. Cushing*, 2 Cush. (Mass.) 519, decided in 1848, the testator bequeathed his property “for the establishment and support of a free English school in

* We say *few*, because it is remarkable that the work of the senior girls in the Cambridge Local Examinations is, as a whole, as inferior to that of the juniors as is found to be the case with the boys. We did not so much wonder at it in the latter. The Universities and the Oxford A A would naturally attract the most promising boys. But there is no such cause at work with the girls, and the fact rather points to the conclusion that a majority of both sexes are not capable of much literary advancement after sixteen—that, in short, their hands are better than their heads.

Newbury-port, for the instruction of youth wherever they may belong." The court was of opinion that the testator meant a school for girls as well as boys.'

Much, of course, would depend on the wording of testaments. But however that may be, we heartily hope that such a college may be somehow or other built and endowed. Only we trust that it may be as far as possible officered by women. Just as only men can make men, so only women can make women. We suppose that in one or two departments of knowledge the employment of men cannot be helped, though if Sir William Hamilton is right in exclaiming, 'Whatever is good in a lecture is better in a book,' we don't see why they might not be done without. But that argument might perhaps go to the abolition of colleges and universities altogether. Besides, we think he is as much the reverse of right as it is possible for a man to be. There is a power in the living voice the printer cannot attain unto, and we believe that without speaking teachers learning would soon die. So let the ladies have their professors. We advise them to be careful, in making their choice of teachers of either sex, not to be led away by the *ignis fatuus* of

‘European reputations,’ but to look out for persons who love their work enough to be honest and sound instructors ; and to this warning we will only add a hearty wish that they may succeed in founding an institution which may be abundantly fruitful of ‘good wives and mothers.’



CAMBRIDGE EXAMINATIONS.



It may be useful, by way of close, to give some account of the studies which it is open to an undergraduate member of the University of Cambridge to pursue with the view either of going out in honours, as it is called, or contenting himself with an ordinary degree.

On applying for admission to a college, the tutor, if he has room to receive the applicant, will inquire particulars of his age, education, and character. Some tutors are, of course, more particular than others, but it may be fairly said that, as a general rule, a young man does not obtain admission to a college without first satisfying the authorities that there is reasonable ground for the hope that he will conduct himself well and be

found able to pass the University Examinations. Some colleges require him to pass an examination of their own before consenting to present him for matriculation. Persons, whose opinion is entitled to respectful consideration, have of late urged the University to institute a general examination of all students desiring to be matriculated. It seems however more than doubtful whether it would be desirable, or even right, to comply with this demand. Such an examination might, and in our opinion probably would, prove the means of excluding a deserving class of students. Every college tutor of experience must have received young men who, on their arrival, could have passed no examination, not the very slightest, in any branches of knowledge whatever, who have notwithstanding, after three years of steady industry, acquitted themselves with credit in the final trial, and gone away duly qualified to serve God in Church and State. Various circumstances bring up a considerable number of young men of this stamp. Sometimes it is a change in the fortunes of a family, sometimes neglect on the part of parents, or the having been placed under a careless

or ignorant schoolmaster, sometimes foreign birth. Very often the wishes of the youth himself have at length conquered the opposition of his father. Too old to go to school, he must, if he is to submit to an examination on entering the University, either resort to the perilous and costly resource of private tuition; or else give up the hope of improving himself. We desire to see our doors flung open as wide as possible to this class of young men. On the other hand a matriculation examination would tend to encourage another class whom it is most desirable to keep away. We refer to those who having been at good schools, and taken just advantage enough of their opportunities to enable them to pass ordinary examinations with ease, wish to measure as exactly as possible with how little work they can get through the University, and spend all the rest of their time in trifling amusements. Every means should be taken to discourage such men. One of the best effects to be looked for from the new arrangement of the examinations for the ordinary degree is that it will have considerable success in driving out these idlers by keeping them in an unceasing state of worry. The truth is that

the cry for an entrance examination rests on a misconception of what a University is entitled to demand of the youth whom she receives into her bosom. This is not possession of knowledge, but genuine desire of knowledge. Those colleges which hold an examination of this kind within their own walls, wisely keeping this in mind, confine it to those moderate rudiments without which a young man can hardly take advantage of lectures. But it would be difficult, if not impossible, to keep a public University Examination within these very narrow limits.

The first public trial then to which an undergraduate is subjected is the Previous Examination, as it is called, or *Little-go*. Medical students are permitted to pass this, if they can, in their second term of residence. Others must have kept at least three terms before admission to it. The subjects are one of the four Gospels in the original Greek, Paley's 'Evidences of Christianity,' the Accidence of the Greek and Latin Grammar, one of the Greek and one of the Latin classics, arithmetic, and the first three books of Euclid. No Latin or Greek composition is required, and it is astonishing

to see the misapprehension the public mind is under in this particular. Many writers and speakers appear to think that a young man is so plagued with composition during his career at Cambridge that he must needs spend over it many a weary hour at school. The fact is that, as we shall see, none but candidates for distinction in classics ever have a piece of English put before them for translation into Latin or Greek. In short, so far as Cambridge is concerned, there are not fifty men a year to whose academical career it need make the slightest difference if Greek and Latin composition were banished at once out of every school in the kingdom.

Into the question of the policy of enforcing Greek upon the whole body of undergraduates we do not wish to enter. But let it not be forgotten that to drop Greek carries away with it almost all lay study of the Greek Testament. It will be hard, we trust, to persuade the country that any good can be found to outweigh this immense loss. It will be said probably that the knowledge of Greek attained by the ordinary poll-man is so slight as to make his study of the Gospels in Greek of very

little value. This is one of the propositions which can never be categorically denied, since it is impossible to weigh actual results. But it is not without some experience in teaching that we venture to call it in question. Let college lectures on the Gospels not deal merely with points of criticism or doctrine, but be directed to leaving on the minds of the hearers a faithful and lively impression of the character and teaching of our Lord, and it may be safely predicted that they will be useless to none but the very worst and idlest men. Useful too in a measure above that it is possible to reach in teaching from a translation. To a scholar competent to apprehend the truth and force of the words themselves, they are suggestive of deeper teaching than he can draw from the most successful version. Will it be said that he may hold the Greek original in his hand while his hearers may be occupied with the English Testament? That would be a lame business. We have always thought, and years as they go on seem to confirm the opinion, that a great deal of the coldness of our Christianity is due to the imperfect conception most people have of the person and character of

the Lord Jesus Christ. Nothing can correct this like a careful survey of the vivid portrait of Him offered to seeing eyes by any one of the four Gospels. For this reason, and for this alone, we earnestly trust that the study of Greek may always be maintained in the Universities. We even go so far as to wish that girls were oftener taught Greek than they are. Women were first and foremost in welcoming Christ into the world: they are not likely to be slowest in apprehending the full glory of His teaching.

But to return to our examinations. So soon as the student has passed the Previous Examination, he must make his choice, if he has not done so already, between honours and an ordinary degree. To the aspirant to the former five triposes* are open, in mathematics, classics, moral sciences, natural sciences, and civil law. A place in any one of these qualifies the student for his first degree. The first of them is the oldest Honour Examination in the University. The lists in the Kalendar date from so far back as 1747, and there

* So called because the successful candidates are arranged in three classes.

are shadowy traditions of still earlier senior wranglers, Newton and Bentley among the number. Next in seniority comes the Civil Law Tripos, of which the earliest list printed in the *Kalendar* is dated 1815. The Classical Tripos was instituted in the year 1822. This, the highest classical examination, is the only one into which Latin and Greek composition enters.* The debates going on about the Classical Tripos are well known to all who take interest in University affairs. It would be foreign to our present purpose to give any account of the points in discussion. We would only ask leave to make one remark in passing, namely, that the examiners have long appeared to us to attempt too much. Considering how much depends in estimating the value of translations and compositions on the taste—or no taste—of each examiner, it is unreasonable to attempt to place the men in order of merit. To arrange them in large brackets, preserving the alphabetical order of names in each, is surely as much as can be accomplished with justice. Further when every place is so valuable,

* It will be understood that we do not take into account examinations for university or college scholarships.

since a fellowship may depend on being one place higher or lower, the young men are induced to concentrate all their energies on mere success in the tripos, and disregard all studies that do not conduce to it. This goes far to account for the fact that a high place may be attained in this, and we may add in any, tripos by an otherwise illiterate man. No one however will deny that all the three foregoing triposes have done, and are still doing, excellent service, and if the exertions which are being made by the persons most competent in each department to amend what is faulty be, as there is every reason to hope, crowned with success, they will live to do much more. The remaining two, those in moral and natural sciences, are too young to have yet borne much fruit. Both came into being in 1850. Their infancy was rather puny. Of late years they have become much more vigorous, and bid fair to ripen into strength and usefulness.

If a student wishes to take an ordinary degree, he must pass a general examination yearly held in May or June, and open to all persons who have kept at least four terms. The subjects of this

examination are (1), the Acts of the Apostles in the original Greek ; (2), one of the Latin classics ; (3), one of the Greek classics ; (4), elementary algebra ; (5), elementary mechanics and hydrostatics. Precisely twelve months after, he must pass one out of five special examinations, held in certain branches of theology, moral science, law, natural science, and mechanism and applied science. This is a new arrangement, only this year coming into full operation. But let it not be supposed, as it sometimes is, that the education a man might obtain under the old system was simply contemptible. It was the lot of the present writer to examine for the little go in 1865 and 1866, and for the ordinary degree in 1866 and 1867. Consequently, in examining for the latter, he knew tolerably well the standard of knowledge likely to have been reached by the bulk of the men when they passed the former. No result was to him more surprising or more satisfactory than the improvement which appeared to have been achieved by the greater part of them. Men who speak contemptuously of the poll do so by comparison with those to whose society they are themselves most accustomed. To

estimate the value of an ordinary degree, the fair course is to compare poll men with those who have neither gone through the University course nor been subjected to any corresponding training. Every one will acknowledge that a merchant or a country gentleman who has taken a degree at either University, is, with rare exceptions, superior both in manners and knowledge to his neighbour who has known nothing but the counting-house or the hunting-field. Nor again is it true to say that young men come well prepared from school to college, and forthwith apply themselves to the task of forgetting all they had learnt. The fact is that very few boys come up from school bringing with them any appreciable amount of scholarship or knowledge. Those who do nearly always declare for honours. The rest, if they have had the luck to be under a good master, have just broken ground in one or two departments of knowledge, and been trained to habits of order and obedience. This is fortunately so generally the case that nothing can be pleasanter or more easy to deal with than a lecture-room of undergraduates. By far the larger part of them learn here as much as

their slowly-ripening minds can take in, and go out into the world taught how to learn more for themselves. Most of them become competent and useful men in life, and furnish a large portion of the very best among the clergy. If they will avoid hard questions, and be as silent as they can during their first years in orders, storing up experience in life and knowledge of men's hearts to qualify them for writing sermons, they may and often do become excellent preachers. While however we maintain that the contempt, in which the old ordinary degree was held by many of those who had followed a more ambitious course of study, was not justified, we hail the new scheme as likely to prove fruitful of the best results. If the rules were so far relaxed as to permit a student to pass two of the examinations, opportunity would be given to industrious men of showing that they had received an education, up to a certain point, excellent.

Besides these there are a great number of examinations in the different faculties open to various classes of students, as well as examinations for scholarships, prizes, &c., in special subjects. These we need not now particularise. Nor need we do more than

mention the Local Examinations, which carry the influence of the University into every part of the country. Now that Durham and Edinburgh have followed in the wake of their southern sisters, no boy need go far from home to seek an opportunity of gauging his intellectual level. No step has been taken by the Universities for many years which has so widened and deepened their influence with the country. The examinations appear to have secured the confidence of schoolmasters, and the candidates for certificates begin to be counted by yearly thousands. Examinations on so vast a scale are necessarily somewhat rough. But on the whole it may be safely said that no boy is passed who has not learnt enough to make himself useful in a counting-house, and that no one obtains a place in the honour classes who has not received the rudiments of a sound education in one or two languages besides English, or else in some useful branches of science. Some of the highest boys in either division do their teachers very great credit.*

* Persons desirous of precise information on this subject may obtain it by help of the *Examination Papers and Report and Tables* published for the Syndicate by Messrs. Rivington, London, and Deightons, Cambridge.

We have heard fears expressed that schoolmasters may be tempted by the hope of shining in these trials to neglect the dull boys for the sake of pushing on the clever ones. We do not attach much weight to this objection. A master must, of necessity, do most of his teaching in class. All then get the benefit alike. Nor must it be forgotten that the presence of one or two boys decidedly superior to their companions is of great value to a school. Boys, like hounds, pack a good deal, and the example and influence of a few of more than average powers contribute powerfully to keep the whole body going well. No doubt it is better to have an examination of the whole school *intra muros*. A good examiner sent into a school endeavours to find out how backward the idlers are no less than how forward the best boys are, on the same principle as an accurate observer of the atmosphere watches the *minimum* as well as the *maximum* of heat. He frames his report at least as much on the *data* furnished by boys scantily endowed with the gifts of nature as by their abler companions. It is satisfactory to parents of slow boys to have explicit testimony that they are not

neglected. The University of Cambridge has done something towards meeting this demand by undertaking to send to such schools as desire it examiners who shall make their report to the Syndicate. Many schools have already availed themselves of this opportunity. It is evidently in the interest of both masters and boys that when a school is inspected there should be some third party, a perfectly competent and disinterested authority, to whom account is to be rendered.

We may indeed reckon it among the most valuable results of this annual raid of examiners into the remotest corners of the land that it has done much to raise the character and estimation of private schools. At one time every man's hand was against them. Many, no doubt, were utterly unworthy of confidence, in fact public pests ; but, on the other hand, there have always been among private schoolmasters many worthy men and able teachers. It was hard upon this deserving class of men that they had nothing to rely on but the uncertain discernment of parents. Regular and well-conducted examinations have done much to separate the wheat from the chaff. We may add, that

whatever raises the character and promotes the efficiency of private schools must be accounted a public benefit ; for, good or bad, it is clear that it will be a long time before we can do without them.

It must not be thought that we regard examinations as a *panacea* for all the evils and shortcomings of universities and schools. We assure the reader that we well know them to be, in many respects, as weak and faulty as all other human instruments. In particular, we fear that they are much to blame for that slackening of the thirst for knowledge which is too apparent among boys. But they also have their uses. Our main object in much of what has been said here, as well as in the foregoing papers, has been to show that the university desires to serve the country, and is not the abode of idle, bigoted, and luxurious pedantry that the House of Commons appears to think it. It is a great misfortune that we are compelled to send representatives to that assembly. They are never resident members of the senate, and never know anything of the present state of our affairs. No blame to them. How should they? They have their own

duties and interests elsewhere. But of what use are they to us? The bulk of the House, seeing our own representatives know nothing of what is doing here, very naturally concludes there is nothing to know. In the debate on Mr. Ewart's motion our Tory burgesses did not do us half the service we received from the radical member for Brighton, who moved for a select committee to consider the subject, almost the only sensible thing said in the debate. Reform we do not fear ; we do fear the rash or interested voices of politicians. For we know by bitter experience that few members of the House of Commons care what mischief they do to secure their seats. Many openly carry bribery and drunkenness into the towns they represent ; many who hate the system have not the moral courage to refuse to uphold it with their purses ; many more shape their votes and speeches, not for the public good, but to please their constituents. It is no uncommon thing to hear a Member of Parliament strongly disown in private a measure to which he publicly gave the support of his voice, because if he had opposed it he would have lost a hundred votes at the next election. This is corruption ;

and, strong as the House of Commons now is, it cannot afford to forget that corruption means death. The paramount task before that House at present is to cut out this gangrene, to call executive government out of abeyance, and to save the nation from the storm of lawlessness of which fierce and gloomy signs already darken the horizon.